

DOUBLE ISSUE

MINING: Canada's
Diamond Rush

IMAGES OF '97:
A Year of Loss

INTERVIEW: At Home
with Jean Chrétien

Maclean's

CANADA'S

WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

DECEMBER 29, 1997 / JANUARY 5, 1998

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To our readers

Peace On
Earth,
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From The Editor

Waiting for the millennium



In the living rooms at 24 Sussex Drive, Althea Claretta straddled the Prime Minister's desk and urged him to stop talking to a staffer so he would look better for a Marlon Brando portrait hunt later. Later, the Prime Minister made clear that his wife of 40 years is his most trusted adviser. Claretta also stressed in an interview that he has no intention of stepping down, despite the evident jockeying among his senior ministers to succeed him. "You don't go and ask the people to vote for you and quit right after," he observed (page 40).

Clearly, the optimistic mood of the Christians was partly to still the snarl of one of the younger superstars in his throne, but also a sign that he is attempting to reassert his leadership at the start of his second term. Christern has heard the whispers that he is out of date, that he has lost it, that he has no vision. And he responds with an entirely unexpected view of what he has to do: "The government role is to make people confident in themselves. That has been a success. People feel good."

Support for his claim is evident in the 14th year-end Median's poll. Respondents reported that they were more optimistic this year than in the past. And on a range of issues, from Quebec to the deficit, significant percentages supported government policies. Chrétien also got good marks for his ability to handle the national unity issue—despite the near-death experience of the 1995 Quebec referendum.

But politics is a fickle world and 1998 may prove to be the true test of Chrétien's five-year record of governing. The Liberals' handling of the GST controversy, the Pearson airport issue in Toronto and

The defence department helicopter does not have a history of collateral damage—the kind of do-dos that can stick even to Taliban. Then, there is what George Bush called the “warrior thing.” It is debatable whether Canadians are willing to enter the new millennium content with a government that relies on a kind of traditionalist religion, therapy as its central thrust. With unemployment still stubbornly high, with inflation rising at universities and health-care standards steadily eroding, Canadians may need to set some firm goals so that his policy does not run out of steam. So far, his orientation is ill-defined, while maintaining a firm hand on the nation's finances, he is committed to “increasing the global power and progress and in a scholarship fund for privileged students.

Still, the Prime Minister studied the year in an upbeat mood, surrounded by his large family with his most trusted friends and adviser at his side. He even boasted about one activity that is usually not a fit subject for public discourse—his golf game. Back in October during the Commonwealth Conference, he ranked the circuit as just griller and played the storied links club at St. Andrews, the last time he had taken to the links to play just nine holes out. In fact, he only took three more golf outings in 2005. But for the most part, Mr. Chretien was a metaphor for his year. Above average—with room for improvement.



At 24 hours, reanalysis of the leadership

Old Course at St. Andrews, Scotland. He had time to play just nine holes but, he exclaimed, he was only four strokes over par. For Christie it was a metaphor for his year: Above average—with room for improvement.

Robert Lewis

Phil Snel and Associate Art Director Guenle Sabatini, sorted through hundreds of images for the 20-page spread on the year in pictures. And Assistant Managing Editor Robert Marshall spent weeks assigning and co-ordinating the 22-page, 14th year-end poll package, designed by Assistant Art Director John Odway with Associate Photo Editor Kristine Rye.

The year-end poll, directed by Allen Gross, chairman of The Strategic Council, found Canadians in a more positive mood than in the past five years. Says Marshall: "It has been a pleasure dealing with optimistic responses for a change this year." The poll pickups begin on page 36, images of '87 on page 50 and the diamond story on page 82.

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Double issue

Producing the equivalent of two magazines in one week required the mobilization of all editorial departments in Toronto plus the work of bureau and contributors around the country. Western Business Correspondent Jennifer Hunter went to the Northwest Territories for an eight-page report on the diamond rush. World Editor Brian Woodhead, working closely with Photographer



Woodward (left), Marshall, Winter
with three of his detachment



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How Come Nobody Ever Says They're 'Healthy As A Dog?'



One of the many misconceptions about exercise is that everyday activities like walking your best friend does little to improve your health. In fact, walking could be further from the truth. The daily bout with "Spin" is great for both of you. And, considering how eager he is to go whenever you are, says a lot about how little it takes to be active and feel good. Just 30 minutes a day, most days of the week, for a whole new look, or better on the fitness scale, if you don't have a dog, there's nothing stopping you from taking yourself for a daily walk. (Just optional.)



THE MAIL Dressing the rich

Do you think if we bought more Cord suits, as chief executive, Michael Cowpland, could afford to buy his masses a dress with a frill? ("Cowpland's suspect measures," Opening Notes, Nov. 10) and we'd all be spared yet more austere views of Martin Cowpland's overblown, middle-aged look? Maybe Santa will bring good taste to designers for the ill-fated trunks of Mr. Cowpland, the dress designer and the *Maclean's* editor who decided to publish the photo.

Bernett Barlowe,
Carmel Valley, Calif. 36

'A tragic suicide'

Your article "A terrible farewell," on the life and tragic suicide of Martin Kruse (Canada, Nov. 17), contains an alarming and disappointing concluding sentence: "The only consolation, perhaps, is that Martin Kruse is finally resting in peace." This statement forces me to the conclusion that *Maclean's* has some specific insights into death that have escaped humanity, or is reporting as fact something that it cannot know. That most tragic is that the article discusses the failure of the system to support someone who needs help to deal with psychological problems, yet finds the myth that suicide is an answer to give peace to the troubled. That does no service to those among us dealing with suicidal tendencies.

Jim Maynard,
Arlington, B.C. 36

On being a teenager

While lamenting how Canadian kids become "slaves to artificial desire" by buying designer brands, Peter Dalgaard doesn't mention many symptoms ("Checking the spread of affluence," *The Road Ahead*, Nov. 10). The kids who wear designer do poorly in schools than children who wear hand-me-downs? Is an adolescent who can afford a Sony Walkman less dynamic than a poor kid from Cairo who can't afford it? His cure for "affluence" can be summed up in three words: parents must control. Parents must control what their kids do with their free time. Parents must control what kids watch on TV and read. These measures will make the kids more "dynamic" all right—dynamically rebellious. Good citizenship cannot be measured down someone's throat. Let teens be teens, instead of trying to force them into being adult activities. They'll choose what causes to follow on their own, in time, because they won't, not because "Dad, inside me work at a food bank."

Michael J. Gallagher,
Cortland, N.Y. 36

Kingston



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THE MAIL

Population explosion

Bobbie McCaughey, the mother of the septuplets, claims: "God gave us these kids." No, Bobbie, if God had anything to do with it, it was to make you infertile. It was not merit that gave you seven babies ("Baby boom in Iowa," World, Dec. 1). The only "miracle" I see is that your belly didn't burst. I find it odd that religious people credit God for saving them from disasters and other negative situations, but never hold Him responsible for causing those disasters and situations in the first place.

Jerry Strimling,
Pittsboro, N.C.

What will it take? Do we have to be suffocating on greenhouse emission gases, drowning under a mountain of disposable diapers, or warring for the last bit of arable land or potable water before our political, religious and media leaders will finally consider the problem of the cradle-burnt and pregnant and have the courage to address it? The multiple births of the McCaughey family are not a miracle or a blessing. They are an aberration. Millions of children go hungry, homeless and malnourished while science labors to produce more babies. One selfish and egotistic state rights to recreate our own image, endangering the very future we owe the next generation.

Maggie Habibe,
Stuyvesant, N.Y.

Women and violence

While we writing in response to the media attention given to the recent tragic murder of Breana Vink and the escalation of violence perpetrated by young women. As professional counsellors who serve young women, we are disturbed by society's misunderstanding of this phenomenon ("Bad girls," Cover, Dec. 8). In our work with young women, they have taught us that their experience of the world in that power is

stolen by those more powerful. Every time a child is hit, assaulted, demeaned, neglected or told they are not worthy by words and/or actions, it hurts and damages the core of their being. Every time a teacher says he is distracted because he can see a young woman's belly button, every time a policeman tells a young woman she is a "miracle" every time a father naps on Baywatch, every time the image of a sexualized young woman is used to sell a car, cigarettes, liquor and a way of life every time the community allows sex shops to operate, every time we find male sports rather than female sports, and every time the legal system fails to prosecute an adult for having intercourse with a 16-year-old girl, we are, in a society, reaffirming that young women have no power, no value, and it hurts. These hurting women go in search of power and find it in the same way they have been taught: take power by demeaning, damaging, scapegoating and assaulting people more vulnerable than themselves, and other women. When a cycle of violence is perpetuated. To be sure, it is essential for society to hold responsible for their actions those young women who assault. At the same time, it is imperative that we listen and support them in their efforts to stand up to oppression. When city councils grant licenses to sex shops, strip clubs or a Hookers-style restaurant, we can protest and use our voting privileges to make our point, and when the legal system fails young women, we need to speak out to our communities and government, demanding change.

Joanette Trudewill and Karen O'Brien,
Nassau

In response to your article "Bad girls," I would like to say a word or two in defence of rap music. You write about "Niggers with Attitude, Public Enemy, and Ice T, whose neo-tribe chants and rhythms masked the malevolence of their lyrics. Their songs were poems to violence and degrading women." In fact, Public Enemy does not perform what has come to be called

"pungia" rap, and they never have. Public Enemy's message has always been about social inequality and positive change. Ice T, as well, has a very clear message of peace. Yes, he does rap about violence, but as any writer would do, you write what you know. I don't deny that some rap is irresponsible and painful, but to characterize all rap this way is unfair and inaccurate. Most of today's music is to be valued, regardless of their sound track.

Glen Davidson,
Tokyo, Japan

No responsibility

In the most *Maclean's* readers, I always turn to the back page first to get a few laughs from Allen Fotheringham's columns. But his Dec. 15 column was not very funny ("The 'stupidity' of the Western tragedy"). In fact, it was deadly serious. The essay exposed the fundamental problem with Canadian society, in all areas of life. It was a warning to individuals in willing to take responsibility and admit to know or their mistakes, errors and sins of the past. We are indeed a very strong lot. It was Fotheringham's best column yet.

Bonnie Webster,
Toronto, Ont.

Red Cross president

Your special report on the recent inquiry refers to Gene Darrin, president of the Canadian Red Cross Society, as the successor to Douglas Lindores ("A harsh rebuke," Dec. 8). For the record, Mr. Lindores is the former secretary general and chief executive officer of the society. His successor is Dr. Pierre Dupuis. As president of the society, Mr. Darrin is a volunteer elected by representatives of Red Cross chapters and centres across Canada.

Dennis Orndorf,
National director of public affairs,
The Canadian Red Cross Society,
Ottawa

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Column



Barbara Amiel

Controversy over a delicate matter

I tried to explain the problem to an Israeli friend visiting me in London. The Canadian War Museum is planning a \$12-million expansion that will include a Holocaust Gallery. Canadian war veterans don't like the idea. They think the Holocaust Gallery should be in the Canadian Museum of Civilization—which, by the way, runs the Canadian War Museum. The Israeli looked thoughtful. "So, what's the real problem?" he asked, having considered various agencies when he was a student in the Soviet Union.

Our dispute over the Holocaust Gallery is, in itself, a small business that has pitted people of decency on both sides against one another. Ask the museum officials why they are planning the Holocaust Gallery in the War Museum and they will point to the role of Canada's veterans in fighting the Nazis and liberating Jews.

Ask war veterans why they are opposed to the idea and they will say they are not opposed to the Holocaust memorial, but the Holocaust itself has little to do with Canada's military history.

The truth lies somewhere between. Many veterans don't trust the people who run our museums. They fear that the Holocaust Gallery may turn out to be an exhibition that, far from celebrating Canada's war effort in its defeat of Nazism, will deal with other issues such as anti-Semitism in Canada's immigration policies during the war years and shortly thereafter. They worry that this gallery will be used against the armed forces to suggest, perhaps, that it is the worst qualities of patriotism and military spirit they displayed that led to anti-Semitism and the Third Reich.

There is another agenda here. Behind this sorry little tale is a last Mexican stand of Canada's old left liberal arts and political establishment, which by now represents just about one but not one little clique. Ordinarily it would make good sense to have the Holocaust Gallery in part of the War Museum. After all, it relates to one of the fundamental reasons why we fight wars: against totalitarian regimes. But for years, war veterans have seen a denigration of truth that their generation stood for. By now the very people who risked their lives in actually and bravely have become identified with some of the injustices and discrimination they fought.

This was pointed out in a recent column by David From in *The Vancouver Post*. "The Second World War generation," he wrote "has endured the spurious celebration of every one of the symbols that defined the nationality of the country for which they shouldered arms. Their flag goes. Their bond of state, virtually gone. The armed services themselves withered, bureaucratized and corrupted." The CBC documentary *The Value and the Horror* seemed only to depict veterans as killers or victims. Air Canada withdrew its offer of \$1 million worth of funding to the Canadian

Warplane Heritage Museum because it wouldn't drop the term "warplane." From its name, The Museum of Civilization refused to ante up the \$20,000 at which the war medals of our own Lt.-Col. John McCrae, soldier and author of "In Flanders Fields," were offered to it, leaving it to a recent museum to pay the \$400,000 they fetched at auction. (He donated the medals to McCrae House Museum.)

The fears of the vets are not helped by Adrienne Clarkson, who heads up the Museum of Civilization's board of directors. Ms. Clarkson is in worse luck better than any of her generation that swallowed holocausts the spirit of moral relativism that worries the vets. She belonged to that school of artists and intellectuals who together with prime minister Trudeau were shouting "Viva Castro" even as Cuba's political prisons were overflowing, or supporting Canada's then-Minister of Sport and Culture Iona Campagnolo when she sold her marriage to him to play sports with the totalitarian Soviet Union in the Olympics while boycotting South Africa.

This generation now makes up most of our cultural establishment and foreign office. A current preoccupation is re-evaluating Western culture from the point of view that it is fundamentally racist. People who hold such views are likely to be less concerned with celebrating the achievements of our armed forces during the war than with unearthing the cannery aspects of Canadian politics in that period. And there were uneasy aspects in Canada's immigration policies towards Jews fleeing Hitler. But unpleasant as such policies were, they have nothing to do with veterans who volunteered to risk their lives and fight the Third Reich.

No doubt most veterans never gave a moment's thought to saving European Jews from annihilation when they went off to fight Hitler. No one knows about his plans for genocide against Jews, homosexuals, gypsies and the mentally defective. Canada's vets went to fight a regime that was as terrible as the enemy of every group in the world that cherished fundamental principles of liberty and justice.

That was the big picture and the Holocaust, though a central and very painful part of the war, was only one aspect of it. This, then, is why veterans worry that the Holocaust exhibit will somehow turn into a gallery that messages to convey the notion that anti-Semitism is a deep-seated part of the fabric of all Western cultures in general and of Canada's in particular. Minimally, if the Holocaust was to be built as a part of the War Museum, the people put in charge of raising it need remember that it is a war museum, not a concentration camp. The efforts Canada made to rid the world of anti-Semitism as a general concept. Unless that is the vision of the sponsors, then the veterans who are against the placement of this exhibition at the War Museum will have turned out to be right in all their fears.

Opening Notes

Edited by JAMES HARRIS

Ten big-screen gems in 1997



Scene from *The Sweet Hereafter*. *Jan Melen* and *Sarah Polley* in *The Sweet Hereafter* (left). *Kateering Kang* in *Double Happiness* (right). *John Woo* in *Double Happiness* (right)

Widows engaged, but when it's all over, *And Jesus Bowed Himself* has a chance to show under the influence. Meanwhile, the controversy of death of a new wave of life in *Double Happiness*. *Widows* to the *Ice Storm*. Film critic *John D. Johnson* offers his personal favorites.

The Sweet Hereafter *Adam Carlin*'s haunting tale about the aftermath of a fatal school bus crash takes Canadian cinema to a new threshold.

Titane *A bigger accident scene*. *James Cameron* builds the ship, sinks it and wraps the story in fairy-tale romance. The Hollywood movie of the year.



Kundun *Marlon Brando*'s story of Tibet's Dalai Lama. *David Byrne* is a pure visual poetry, a work of post-accident cinema. *James Cameron* in *Double Happiness*. *Widows* to the *Ice Storm*. Film critic *John D. Johnson* offers his personal favorites.

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Hot stuff between the covers

Maclean's editors select some of their favorite books of 1997

FICTION

The Underpinner by *James Wright*. This year's Governor General's Award winner for fiction is the tale of a violent artist whose emotional obsessions and murdering career tragedy.

Barney's Version by *Marianne Richler*. A deeply funny, faithful mirror from the curmudgeonly deity of Canadian writing.

Underworld by *Don DeLillo*. A sublime, enigmatic novel spanning the wars of the Cold War and the dawn of the 90s.

Lenny's Party by *David Shields*. The Winnipeg author conquers the page and life of an average guy.

Toward the End of Time by *John Up-*

de. The Reginald Wright has assembled a collection of asper's stones about military people.

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The Life of Margaret Leveson by *James King*. An intimate, revealing story of a beloved writer.

Into This Air by *John Kinsler*. The gripping chronicle of a tragic accident.

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Into This Air by *John Kinsler*. The gripping chronicle of a tragic accident.

The Assassination by *Lucien Bouchard* and *Politics of Deception* by *Lawrence Martin*. A riveting, controversial biography of the Parti Québécois leader.

Small Mercies: A Boy After War by *Ernest Miller*. An author's account of what his hero calls the "American Boy Scouts."

The Two-headed Gull by *Sandra Bird-*

Weird and weirder

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Passages

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A CONFIDENT NATION

A new poll shows growing optimism

BY ALLAN R. GREGG

Every fall for the past 14 years, I have sat down with the *Maclean's* editors and, more recently, our pollsters partners at the CBC's *The National* to develop a theme for our year-end survey of Canadians. This year, I convinced *Maclean's* and *The National* that an investigation of generations—and particularly the values of the next generation of Canadian leaders, currently under the age of 30—would reveal startling differences in outlook. Instead, the 1997 survey revealed a young generation with many of the same beliefs and values of their parents—and, indeed, their grandparents. Most intriguing of all, the poll reveals a surprisingly cohesive commitment, across all generations, to liberal social values. That finding flatly contradicts the portrait often painted of young people, and of Canada as a whole, in the 1990s.

It was also unexpected, given previous indications of distinctive behaviour patterns among young people. Three years ago, we noted (with little comment) that 18- to 29-year-olds were less likely to return a lost wallet, pointing to a weaker attachment to ethical standards. Last year, we found these youngest adults to be the most likely to expect a future without a government-sponsored pension plan or universal health-care system. Against this, almost one in five had already entered in a mutual fund, suggesting a take-chance orientation that had both the looks and inclination to forge a life without the traditional Canadian social safety net. More recently, I had run into a young consultant recently who reported carrying vast sums by offering advice to major companies on how to hire recent graduates, who apparently were no longer flocking as the flocks of corporate Canada for employment. This astonishing tale, against alarming news reports of 20-per-cent-plus unemployment rates among the under-30s, hinted at decidedly different inspiration surrounding work and ambition.

Clearly, some generational differences still do exist, which, if not exactly earth-shattering, are at least quite telling.

• Thirty- to 40-year-olds (who 10 years ago, in their 20s, were popularly characterized as the idealistic, mis-



Allen Gregg is chairman of the Toronto-based polling firm The Strategic Council.

ILLUSTRATION BY JAMES GUNN

labeled Generation X) are now the most optimistic about their own prospects—and the most derisive about the ambition and commitment to hard work of these younger than themselves. Their active cash life is in their past as they focus on jobs, relationships and (to the extent you believe what they tell you) in love. It is a decidedly mixed bag.

• The older baby boomers—now aged 40 to 50—appear to be slowing down and looking to substitute quality of life for a former preoccupation with quantity. The pressures they place on jobs, money and material progress is now lower than that exhibited by all other generations. Either lulled by or fed up with the quest for material possessions, this group is finding balance in their relationships—and even spirituality.

• If the anxiety of the past decade is evident in any generation today, it is most likely to be found among those in or near retirement. It is they—not Canada's youth—who are most concerned with the nation's unemployment situation. As well, they are not only more negative when it comes to assessing the prospects and motives of younger generations, they are also the most concerned about their own physical, material and spiritual well-being.

• There are modest differences within the generations we set out to profile: the 18- to 29-year-old baby boomers (so-called because there are relatively few of them, squeezed between the boomers and the boomers' children, the so-called echo boom, now aged 4 to 17). Perhaps with the increasingly costly pace of their lives, this age group most likely to think of itself as a distinct generation. And besides displaying less intense attachment than older generations to ethical and moral standards, they report lower levels of commitment to charitable giving and the value of volunteerism.

• It is no surprise, then, that baby boomers are more at ease with caregivers, almost three times more likely than any other elders to use condoms, and have far and away the most active social lives of any of the generations analyzed. They are less likely than older respondents to think the boomers are blocking their opportunities for upward career mobility, and they still feel they have something to learn from the younger generation. Similarly, they demonstrate the greatest preference of any generation for self-employment and for spending their workday in smaller business—but in those regards (as in virtually all others) they simply exaggerate tendencies that are evident across all other generations.

In fact, what was surprising about Canada's youth—the "news" about that generation—is that, far from fitting the conflicting stereotypes of despair and alienation on the one hand, or stoically buttressed down calculations of self-interest on the other, they are, if anything, rock-ribbed social liberals. Not only are they the most comfortable of all generations with wearing the liberal label, their acceptance of a diversity in lifestyles, mores and social behavior is truly breathtaking.

Whether embracing gay teachers in the classrooms, New Age psychics or a woman's freedom to work (and, indeed, be the boss) or to stay at home, that generation demonstrates a consistent pattern of tolerance towards differences. Within that context, even their rejection of the importance of intergenerational code can be interpreted not as a lack of ethical standards, but as a desire to allow others to pursue their lives and goals unencumbered by restrictive notions of what is acceptable or unacceptable. Indeed, it is the risk of displacing the comfort of our own generation, if they have a crackpot might be encapsulated in that old Stateside chestnut, "Do your own thing."

But even in their remarkable liberalism, 18- to 29-year-olds are not much different from the rest of the population. The surfaces Canadians display across generational lines amount to little more than pale waves painted across a larger, more compelling canvas. Because when young people define themselves in liberal and accept and embrace diversity in Canadian society, they are revealing their selves to be the true progeny of their elders. Their liberalism and tolerance may be more loudly voiced, but it is coming from the same consistent chorus that is being sung from all the very oldest elements of Canada's population.

Liberalism, age and money

- **Most likely to consider themselves liberal:**
respondents aged 18 to 24 (63%), or with household incomes over \$40,000 (62%)
- **Least likely to consider themselves liberal:**
respondents aged 65 or more (49%), or with household incomes under \$20,000 (50%)

Canadians (63 per cent) have no hesitations in calling themselves liberals. Canada's youth appears nearly as liberal as the main line of previous generations. In doing so, the young are reflecting and perhaps amplifying the dominant culture of our past.

Our research over the past decade has underscored this trend, but perhaps never as quite so starkly: a way in this poll. We have not over the past two years that Canadians were prepared to accept (with resignation if not enthusiasm) a future of diminished opportunities. We have never, however, been likely to be dismayed by a politician that was willing to turn his back on a tradition of civility, tolerance and concern for the welfare of those less well-off than themselves. That has been—and appears likely to continue to be—the single greatest hallmark of our self-identification as Canadians.

The trauma of recession, the loss of deference and faith in traditional authority might have nudged us towards considering alternative means to reclaim and preserving these ends. But we have never been willing to have the ends themselves replaced. And what this year's poll clearly illustrates is that, for all the worrying that old liberal policies and attitudes are threatening the traditions that make Canada the landest and gentlest of nations, the newest generation of adults will not allow that to happen without a fight. □

RIGHT ON TRACK

As their reward for winning a second majority government, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and Finance Minister Paul Martin are given an audience with God, who allows them each one question about the future.

"Please," says Martin, "tell me whether we really can keep our election promises to eliminate the deficit, cut taxes and spend new money on social programs."

"Yes, my son," is the response, "but not in your lifetime." Then, the Prime Minister asks: "Will we ever be able to stop talking about Quebec, the Constitution, and national unity?" "Perhaps, my son," comes the answer, "but not in my lifetime."

BY ANTHONY WILSON SMITH

In the ninth-filled world of official Ottawa, variations of that story have been used by senior Liberals—including Chrétien—and they usually draw a big laugh. One reason is that, in the nation's capital, any attempt at humor from a prime minister is enough to trigger an obedient guffaw from everyone else. But another, as the Maclean's/CBC News poll makes clear, is that when it comes to national unity and spending policies, the Liberals can afford to grin. In both those crucial areas, they approach the end of the first year of their new mandate secure in the knowledge that a strong majority of respondents—including Quebecers—thank the government as to the right track.

Within political circles, it is given that Chrétien, when faced with two extreme choices, will delay a final decision as long as possible—and then, if he can, strike a position smack in the middle. That strategy sometimes rattles both opponents and allies—but pays dividends. Consider the eternal divisions within the Liberal caucus between those who want to launch an avalanche of new spending programs and those who, like Martin, preach continued austerity. Once again under Chrétien, the middle ground appears to have prevailed, as Martin's officials suggested in early December that the next budget will allocate more funds to new programs, but the relatively small amount of \$900 million. In fact, no clear consensus is in sight among voters as to how government should behave in a just deficit year (page 20)—the decision to spend a little more while paying down the debt offers something for all.

The same split is reflected in the unity issue—and again, the government readily steps by two contrasting views while avoid-

ing a question of secession. For most of the past year, Chrétien and his ministers have emphasized the so-called Plan B approach to Quebec—a hard-line stance that emphasizes the negative potential effects of sovereignty. Now, while 37 per cent of poll respondents in Quebec say the government is being "too tough" on the province, only five per cent in the rest of Canada agree. Most importantly, a majority of respondents—even in Quebec—agree that the aggressive posture is achieving its goal of making secession less likely.

All of which makes the outlook for the coming year rosy for the Liberals—and correspondingly bleak for the opposition parties. Half a year after the June 3 election, the poll's findings indicate that no other party can erode the Liberals' credibility as the economy and national unity in all regions. Once again, Chrétien's ability to find a common ground between two extremes seems to be prevailing. And on the unity issue, the chances have widened through the 1990s—whereas the failed Meech Lake and Charlottetown accords and the near-run result of the October, 1995, referendum.

Yet Chrétien, while widely criticized at the time, remains far and

The Liberals score high marks on two key issues—deficit cutting and national unity



Martin pointing to Chrétien in the House: the middle ground

away the politician of choice among English-speaking Canadians to lead them on another referendum. In Quebec, although he trails far behind Progressive Conservative Leader Jean Charest in that assessment, he still has the choice alone in four Quebecers—and no other party leader appears to have any relevance on the federalist side in the debate. Similarly, while Preston Manning and Reform have made tax cuts and deficit reduction their twin mantras, the Liberals recognize that Canadians, after years of government belt-tightening, are now concerned about declining standards in such areas as education and health care. By promising to put some new money aside for those areas while continuing overall spending cuts, the Liberals tap into both Reform's support and the 25 per cent of Canadians, according to the poll, who want more money spent on social programs.

Over the years, Chrétien's habit of twiggling eyebrows and sometimes offering up verbosé sentences has made him a figure of fun. But no one has been able to dislodge him from his control of the mid-of-road territory. In the last election, the Tories tried in some ways to mimic the Liberals, balancing a call for further cuts with a promise to maintain high levels of spending for social programs

Moreover, Chrétien is arguably the most charismatic and telegraphic of the leaders in either of these languages. That while the Liberals took 155 seats and formed a majority government, the Tories won just 30 seats. Most of those were in the Atlantic provinces, where, periodically, voters ignored Chrétien's right-wing economic talk—they voted for the Tories to punish the Liberals for their previous cuts.

The Liberals' apparent success in those two areas, in fact, has overshadowed their less-skilful, more controversial handling of a host of other issues, including the sharply shortened inquiry into Canadian military abuses in Somalia, clashing over the botched privatization of Pearson airport, and their apparent reversal of opinion over the need to purchase new helicopters for the military.

As well, the Liberals concede that their popularity on those two big ticket issues could suffer if, for example, the public does not like the budget expected in February, or if Premier Lucien Bouchard succeeds in reviving some separatist passions. Cautious as an adviser to Chrétien, "We always like to be in the middle"—provided, of course, that the centre is holding firm. "So far, it is. And that, more than any job, is what keeps the Liberals smiling." □

'PLAN B' HITS A CHORD

The poll supports Ottawa's tougher line with Quebec

BY ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH

Through all the national unity battles fought between Ottawa and Quebec City, it likely that as one has ever defined the challenge confronting both sides more succinctly—or bluntly—than former premier Jacques Parizeau. In the early 1980s, Parizeau, according to author and journalist Graham Fraser, observed to associates at a dinner party: "We are elected by idiots. In Quebec, 40 per cent are separatists and 40 per cent are federalists—and 30 per cent don't know who is prime minister of Canada." And, Parizeau added, "It is that 30 per cent that makes and breaks governments."

While Parizeau's dismissive description may raise eyebrows, few strategists on either side question his insight. For years, many of Quebec's has been from into two voting blocks—while the future of Canada rests upon the one-fifth of voters who shift their support between federalism and sovereignty with startling alacrity. And Parizeau is not the only one to find those undecided voters both tantalizing and frustrating. Federalists grant their loyalty only partly knowing that many undecided voters—along with some firm sovereignty supporters—believe that, even after a Yes vote in a separation referendum, Quebec would still be part of Canada.

But now the *Maclean's*/CBC News poll indicates that the federalists, led by Prime Minister Jean Charest and his aggressive inter-governmental affairs minister, Stephen Duce, are clarifying the stakes for their audience—it is a message that he (and the federalists) can't ignore. And, in the rest of the country, 16 per cent of voters are still undecided, but Quebecers and other Canadians feel more strongly than they did a year ago that the chances of the province becoming sovereign have decreased since the close-off referendum of Oct. 30, 1995.

"The sovereignty problem," says pollster Alan Gregg, "is getting smaller in the minds of the public." In fact, while just 17 per cent of Quebecers believe sovereignty has become more likely, 45 per cent feel the prospects have diminished (up from 35 per cent in last year's poll). In the rest of the country, 16 per cent deem sovereignty more likely, but 45 per cent think the contrary (again, up from 38 per cent last year). Even starker is the contrast with the 1995 *yes-no* poll, taken within three weeks of the referendum. Then, 64 per cent of Quebecers predicted a majority would vote Yes in another referendum within five years—and 38 per cent of other Canadians agreed.

Tough love

- Belief that Ottawa's tougher line will persuade Quebecers to remain part of Canada:



As for the cause of that shift, respondents credit—or blame, depending on their perspective—the federal Liberal toughened approach to Quebec. For most of the past year Duce and other members of Charest's government have been hammering away at the negative potential consequences of a Yes vote. One measure of that in Ottawa's smelter case is a case before the Supreme Court, challenging Quebec's right to unilaterally declare itself sovereign. With a ruling likely next fall, that initiative has enraged sovereigntyists. Led by Premier Lucien Bouchard, who says the overt case threatens Quebecers' "democratic right to choose their future." A negative ruling by the court, Bouchard has suggested, may provide a strong election to Quebec.

But Ottawa's tougher strategy is working, say 67 per cent of respondents outside Quebec—a statement supported by 50 per cent even within that province. Those findings confirm some of the worst fears of sovereignty leaders, who have conceded in recent months that their support is falling. With a view to shoring up its backing, Bouchard's governing Parti Québécois considered holding a pre-referendum referendum, simply asking Quebecers whether they consider themselves "a people." The idea was to gain momentum

with a massive Yes vote—which most strategists considered likely—before calling another sovereignty referendum. But Bouchard rejected the idea of a recent PQ convention after it became clear a forced strong opposition from committed sovereigntists—including Parizeau. To a group, which has always been suspicious of Bouchard's personal commitment to sovereignty, fears that a softer referendum would only serve to delay another real referendum.

The poll also shows encouragement for Duce to

national unity strategy—in which every commitment carefully parlayed by allies and opponents for new meaning—sovereignists cited Charest's remarks as an important admission and a breakthrough for their side. For their part, advisers to Charest insist he was merely saying what he has always said—as well as clarifying Ottawa's recent strategy of spelling out its positions in order to give Quebecers a "better understanding" of the choices they face.

None of that was likely to drastically alter Charest's standing on the national unity issue. As always, he faces credibility problems in his home province. But on a national level, he is easily the favored overall choice among the five federal party leaders when it comes to deciding who would best represent the federalist side in another referendum. That is the case by a wide margin, with 58 per cent of PQ respondents choosing Charest, comfortably ahead of Progressive Conservative Leader Jean Charest (30 per cent), Reform Leader Preston Manning (22 per cent) and New Democratic Party Leader Alexa McDonough (five per cent).

Even in Reform's power base in the Prairie provinces, Charest appears to have a slight edge, with 31 per cent support compared with Manning's 28 per cent. Still, Charest has a worse position on his only home turf in the old choice of only 25 per cent of respondents in Quebec—a distant second to Charest's 30 per cent, but still far ahead of McDonough or Manning (at five per cent each).

And for now, at least, the efforts of other Prime Ministers on the national unity issue are regarded as a positive influence in all parts of the country. In the wake of Stephen's Calgary declaration—in which the prime minister from outside Quebec and his cabinet members agreed to a set of general principles aimed at keeping the country united—the poll asked if such provincial initiatives "help or hinder" unity efforts. Outside Quebec, 69 per cent reacted positively, and only 30 per cent negatively, while even within Quebec, 51 per cent said such talks are a help—and 38 per cent consider them a hindrance. The latter opposition to Quebec, federal strategists say, reflects the traditional preference with that province for dealing with constitutional matters on a bilateral basis, by Ottawa, by Quebec, and by the rest of the country.

The challenge that lies ahead on the unity front will be, as always, for the federalists to try to balance views that are sometimes completely contrary. Many Quebec federalists, for example, like the Calgary declaration's reference to the province as "unique" because it carries, in their minds, an implicit promise of special powers. On the other hand, many people outside Quebec who support the document, including Reform's Manning, do so primarily because they see no such promise in it. While this tough strategy towards Quebec seems so far to have worked, unless to the Prime Minister's caution against the possibility of a backlash if that strategy is carried too far "too slowly," says one, "there is no guard against success."

There is probably no one more aware of that than Charest, whose political successes are built in large part on his enthusiasm for the middle ground. On one of the few occasions where the Prime Minister broke with that strategy, the results were uncertain at best. In the wake of the recent 1995 referendum victory, his move to build an immediate consensus on behalf of constitutional change in the rest of the country only to be rebuffed by the provinces. Two years later, the country is no closer to a constitutional resolution—as was clear after a two-day Prime Minister's meeting in early December that achieved no clear consensus.

In the meantime, the stakes of sovereignty have become clearer. That and the decided lack of enthusiasm among sovereigntyists for another immediate referendum are helping Charest. For now, the federalist policy of tough love is working. Coupled with declaring momentum on the sovereignty side and its first-fruits among other referendum ideas, that brings new meaning to an old adage:—they also serve who only wait and wait.



continue his high-profile, aggressive stance towards Quebec. Among other things, he has recently ordered a set of general principles aimed at keeping the country united—the poll asked if such provincial initiatives "help or hinder" unity efforts. Outside Quebec, 69 per cent reacted positively, and only 30 per cent negatively, while even within Quebec, 51 per cent said such talks are a help—and 38 per cent consider them a hindrance. The latter opposition to Quebec, federal strategists say, reflects the traditional preference with that province for dealing with constitutional matters on a bilateral basis, by Ottawa, by Quebec, and by the rest of the country.

Within Quebec, while 51 per cent say the federalist stance is "too tough," another 34 per cent deem it "about right" and 20 per cent consider it "too soft." In the rest of the country, only five per cent think the government is being too tough, while 32 per cent think it is "about right" and the majority—50 per cent—think it is not too tough enough.

Those findings help explain why sovereigntyists pointed to a supposed "no vote" in remarks that Charest made in early December at a Liberal party convention in Quebec City in connection to his analysis, the Prime Minister said his government would negotiate with Quebec if the Yes side won a strong majority in a referendum. "In a situation like this," Charest said, "there will be negotiations with the federal government, no doubt about that." But he also laid out conditions—including the requirement that the referendum question be clear and unambiguous.

To many people who follow politics closely, the Prime Minister was simply asserting the obvious, since the federal government could hardly ignore a Yes vote in such circumstances. In fact, Charest has made similar comments in the past, including in a presentation in 1991 to Quebec's Bilingual-Campus Commission studying the province's constitutional future. But in the nation-wide world of

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MARTIN'S MONEY PROBLEM

Should surpluses go to new spending, tax relief or debt reduction?

BY JOHN GEDDES

In Windsor, Ont., where Paul Martin grew up and his late father, Paul Sr., still reverred as an architect of national health insurance, the closing of two of the city's four emergency rooms has sparked a debate—familiar across Canada—about how funding cuts have hit essential hospital services. As president and chief executive of Windsor Regional Hospital, Lloyd Preston might be expected to urge local rep. Martin, now the federal minister of finance, to take advantage of Ottawa's fast-improving fiscal situation—and honor his father's legacy—by topping up the transfer payments to the provinces that he's fund hospitals. But Preston, like many of the Canadians surveyed in the *Maclean's*/CBC News year-end poll, is wary of a return to big-spending governments. "The message should be that we need targeted programs," he says, advising Martin to allocate funds carefully. "We need an investment in healthy children."

Preston's focused approach is typical of the cautious Canadian perspective on the dwindling era of federal budget surpluses. There is no sign of a groundswell as far as reversing all the spending cuts the Liberals imposed in the determined assault on the deficit. With Ottawa's track to balance its books this year or next for the first time since 1970, the poll asked how governments should spend any surplus money. The top choice of 42 per cent of Canadians: pay down the government's accumulated debt. That makes ahead of cutting income taxes, the priority of 32 per cent, and spending on new social programs, the choice of just 23 per cent. "There's a lot of caution out there," says Michael Sullivan, a partner in the polling firm The Strategic Counsel. "People do want the debt erased by spending."

The desires of federal cabinet ministers and provincial premiers, however, may be another matter. As Martin presses his 1998 budget, expected to be delivered in February, he faces a chorus of cabinet

colleagues asking for more money for everything from technology subsidies to funding for television productions. As for the premiers, in their meeting earlier this month with Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, they demanded that Ottawa shore up transfers to provinces for basic health and education before embarking on any new programs of its own. "All of a sudden, people think there is a pool of money around," gripes one senior official in the federal finance department. "Meanwhile, we still have a \$385-billion federal debt sitting there."

Just how much larger Martin has to dispense is a point of much speculation—but no definitive answers. John McCallum, the Royal Bank of Canada's chief economist—and the man credited with adding "fiscal dividend" to the national lexicon as the term for new money available to spend after the deficit is wiped out—estimates the government will have an extra \$3.6 billion by the end of the next fiscal year. That figure could soar as high as \$25 billion in 2001, by McCallum's calculations.

Numbers of that scale may make it appear that Martin has the



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Poll respondents favor a tax cut over spending plans

resources to reintroduce the egalitarian style that marked the Liberal governments in which his father was a key minister in the late 1960s and early '70s, at least for 2009, is more constrained. "The demand is going to be billions of dollars," agrees one Martin aide, "but decisions have already been made that are going to take up much of that money." In fact, government sources suggest that just \$200 million now remains to be divided up before the coming budget.

The surprisingly small amount left to haggle over reflects the extent of priorities already raised. Consultations with the Liberal's 100,000 in last spring's election, and goals set out in this past fall's speech from the throne, are all but assured of financing. The Liberal campaign's Red Book pledges shore add up to more than \$1 billion—for everything from a bilingual youth centres to industrial research incentives and better funding for the Canada Council for the Arts. Other drains on resources have cropped up more recently, such as the government's highly touted \$100-million contribution towards ending the world of land mines. And still left among the more pressing items likely to need a share of the dividend is a possible compensation package for victims of the 1982-83 famine in southern Sudan, especially those stricken with hepatitis C—a key recommendation in Justice Hanser Kerwin's Nov. 30 report on the blood crisis.

What begins to emerge is a scattergun approach to new spending—a lack of focus that worries the government. Liberal strategists are confident that Canadians want to see a clear blueprint that puts education and health in the foreground. But provincial jurisdictions over both areas limits any bold solo Ottawa initiatives. So the federal government is left with little choice but to negotiate with the provinces toward co-operation on areas like health care in the home and a subsidized drug plan. Funding room to move on post-secondary education is even more tricky. A initiative already in the works is "university scholarship" fund of at least \$1 billion, is Charbon's pet project. The scholarship is slated to be funded from the slumber surplus now expected to be left over at the end of the current fiscal year in March, according the need to vie with other schemes for a slice of next year's projected dividend.

Meeting modest public expectations for spending could turn out to be easier than satisfying the desire for tax reductions. Says The Strategic Counsel's Sullivan, "Given a place where we might expect to see stronger support for social spending—Atlantic Canada and Quebec—people are saying, 'Give me some money back in the form of a tax cut.'" Perhaps surprisingly, in the Maritimes and Newfoundland, where the clampdown on social programs has been most controversial, 41 per cent rank income tax relief at the top of the list when it comes to allocating extra public money—well above the 31 per cent who favor increased social spending. That pattern holds in every province—with easing the tax burden outpacing stepped up social spending by substantial margins.

For those hankering after an immediate income tax break, how-

ever, the next federal budget is shaping up as a disappointment. In fact, Royal Bank's McCullum predicts widespread tax relief is still a long ways away. "In the meantime, and perhaps the last year," he says, "broad-based tax cuts will be inconceivable." The high cost of lightening the tax load was highlighted recently when Martin bowed—reluctantly—to pressure from companies and unions and agreed to shave 20 cents off Employment Insurance premiums

next year, dropping the rate for employees to \$2.70 for every \$900 of insurable income. The cut was double the previously planned 10-cent reduction—an additional cost next year of \$700 million in lower-than-expected revenues for Ottawa. Workers will pay up to \$78 less in 1998 in EI premiums than they did in 1997, which could stand on budget day as the biggest single bite out of the fiscal dividend. Yet some Liberal legislators complain that the move signaled the government to the credit—reinforcing their preference for more narrowly targeted tax cuts that cost less but reap more gratitude from the beneficiaries.

While the debate rages on about spending and taxation, much less is said about shrinking the federal debt. Still, paying down the nearly \$800 billion Ottawa owes remains the first spending priority of poll respondents everywhere but in the Atlantic region, where 10 times second to reducing taxes. Support for tackling the debt is highest on the opposite coast, where 50 per cent of British Columbians make it their top choice for using any extra government money. Finance department officials say the most likely approach to debt repayment is to rely on the \$2-billion annual contingency fund Martin has made a practice of building into his budgets. As long as the reserve fund is not needed to cover the cost of any unexpected economic downturn, it can be earmarked for paying down debt.

Repaying debt out of the sound contingency reserve would mean leaving billions more—as the fiscal dividend amounts over the next few years—available for tax cuts and spending. That doesn't may not satisfy the preference of Canadians for shrinking the debt, but it does potentially fit the government's own plan, a formula calling for half the dividend to be devoted to spending, the other half to a combination of tax cuts and debt repayment.

That gap between the Liberal plan to put spending first and Cana-

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DEFINING QUALITIES

The classic values are common to generations, genders and regions

BY JOE CHEDLEY

If one thing Canadians love to hate about Americans—how they talk about Canada (when they think about it at all) with such derisive flair: “I love it,” actress Lou Anderson once said of Canada. “It reminds me of Minnesota.” Or this entry in U.S. writer R.W. Jackson’s *Dishonest Dictionary of Modern English*: “Canada, noun, a statistical protectorate full of nice people and clean streets.” After 130 years of living with one of the biggest national inferiority complexes in history, the stereotype is still resonant. Canadians, so the popular image goes, are polite, deferential and largely uncorruptible folk, valuing easy decent, socially aware lives, consider of their bureaucratically controlled social programs (one of such ingrained ideals as freedom or individualism or the pursuit of happiness. Like all stereotypes, the one that dogs Canadians is overly simplistic and a little insulting. But (perhaps reassuringly) it is also true.

That, at least, is one conclusion to be drawn from the 14th year end *Maclean's*/CBC News poll. And given recent history, it is surprising. In the 1990s, the nightly news is crisscrossed with tales of violence and crime. Unemployment and dysfunction among youth scream from the head lines. Falling social programs, celebrity divorces and sex scandals are the order of the day. But against that, what is remarkable is that the poll does not reveal Canadian society to be an unending cauldron of conflicting priorities, generational angst or declining “family values.” In fact, what emerges is a portrait of a nation that largely holds in common—across age groups, genders and incomes—values that might be called traditionally Canadian. “There’s no huge rifts between age generation and another, and no competing value systems that are at the forefront,” says Allan Gregg, chairman of The Strategic Counsel, which conducted the poll. “What we found is a remarkably cohesive society.”

More than any of the previous surveys of the national mood, this year’s survey asked Canadians about their values, from the importance of family life and job fulfillment to their attitudes on sex, honesty and money. As well, the respondents were asked whether they were optimistic or pessimistic about the future, and to categorize their attitudes as either liberal or conservative. And for the first time, the 1997 poll-end poll overlapped a specific age group in a question regarding generational differences. Beyond the 1,200 adults of all ages who took part in the telephone survey, The Strategic Counsel interviewed an additional 300 people in the 18- to 29-year-old age group, in an attempt to gauge the mood of the so-called baby

Dividing lines

Most likely to call themselves liberal:

- 18- to 29-year-olds: 67%
- Atlantic residents: 61%

Most likely to call themselves conservative:

- age 50 and up: 49%
- Prairie residents: 46%

boomers, the smaller generation that followed the (famous) baby boomers.

But far from finding evidence of a generation gap, the poll reveals that Canadians, young and old, share a deep concern for family life and the value of social cohesion, and a growing sense of optimism. Overall, 38 per cent of respondents say they are generally more optimistic than they were a decade ago—up from the 27 per cent who felt that way in last year’s poll. And surprisingly, given all the attention paid to youth unemployment in recent years, 18- to 29-year-olds are largely in sync with the rest of the population. Fully 58 per cent—just above the national average—say they have become more optimistic, while 57 per cent agree with the statement, “There are a lot of opportunities out there for people of my generation.”

The poll also demonstrates that, despite the widespread approval of budget-cutting policies, most Canadians are above and remarkably well in Canada. Asked to characterize their views and behavior, 56 per cent of respondents describe themselves as liberal, contrasted with 42 per cent who say they are conservative. The liberal bent is also clear in responses on the issue of homosexuality: only 29 per cent say they are bothered that there are openly gay or lesbian teachers in schools—down a full 10 percentage points from responses to a similar question four years ago. That liberal leaning was apparent among the youngest respondents: at 65 per cent, baby boomers were the most likely to consider themselves liberal and the least likely (33 per cent) to

lay claim to conservatism. They are also the most comfortable with gay teachers and the least likely to say abortion is wrong.

Still, that sturdy liberalism does not automatically translate into a faith in big government. Perhaps because they reached adulthood in an era of spending cuts and a national preoccupation with debt and deficits, the baby boomers display an unbridled skepticism of government’s ability to operate within their means. Even as Dzus

ponders what to do with a projected budget surplus, 41 per cent of 18- to 29-year-olds—compared with just 29 per cent of respondents overall—say they expect deficits to increase over the next few years. Among respondents who expect more public debt is Julie Dickson, a 29-year-old science student at the University of Saskatchewan. “The government has this problem with debt,” she says. “It’s a terrible problem.” “The more social programs aren’t too expensive, but the administration is having 50 million people to do one job, having five roles and sub-roles and under-



Williams: all generations share the need for good parenting

Generation gap

- 34% say they “do not feel comfortable using a computer”

Highest: 68- to 84-year-olds (52%)
Lowest: 18- to 29-year-olds (18%)

secretaries, and 500,000 tons of paperwork—it all seems useless.”

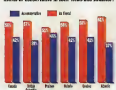
In the private sphere of behavior and values, the survey displays a remarkable consistency across age groups. Full poll responses were asked to rank eight key values according to their importance. Overall, making money ranks lowest—although a healthy 56 per cent still deemed it important. This, in a country where, some developing a spiritual side (75 per cent), living according to a strict moral standard (92 per cent), having a healthy sex life (80 per cent), being physically fit (85 per cent), being in a good relationship (95 per cent) and having a fulfilling job (96 per cent).

But the most strongly held value is a true motherhood—or fatherhood—issue. Fully 98 per cent of respondents overall say being a good parent is important, 86 per cent—again, higher than in any other category—call it extremely important. These findings change very little across age-group, with parenting ranking first even among 18- to 29-year-olds—many of whom do not have children. “Parenting is really important,” says poll respondent Suzanne Williams, a 29-year-old graduate student in communications at McGill University, who is single and has no children. “As I see people getting older, it really informs people’s skills, their ability to express themselves, to get along—based on their relationships with their parents.”

On the issue of stay-at-home mothers, responses seem to reflect that deep belief in parenting. Asked if they agree with the statement, “Most women who have young children would be far happier if they could stay at home and take care of their children,” a majority (58 per cent) concur. With 56 per cent of men and 59 per cent of women agreeing that a mother would be happier at home, there is no significant gender gap on the issue. But the consensus breaks down across the age spectrum. While more than three-quarters aged 65 and up agree with the statement, only 40 per cent of 18- to 29-

Leaning to liberalism

Q: Would you describe yourself as someone who is liberal or conservative in their views and behavior?



The poll finds confidence in youth and respect for elders

years-olds do. That clearly reflects the relative acceptance by the young of the new reality in Canada, despite the ideal of stay-at-home with children, the fact is that both parents work in about two-thirds of households with children.

The poll also finds Canadians of all age-groups concerned to a sense of spirituality. Among the 75 per cent who say that developing their spiritual side is important, that belief is strongest with the seniors over 65 (88 per cent), and weakest with baby boomers (56 per cent). As far as being according to a strict moral standard, a similar pattern emerges, with 88 per cent overall rating it as important, ranging from 71 per cent of 18- to 29-year-olds to 88 per cent of those over 60.

Canadians, in fact, have clearly not turned their backs on traditional concepts of morality. In every province except Quebec, a majority of respondents (58 per cent) find it "totally unacceptable" for someone involved in a long-term relationship to have an affair. And less than anyone think morals are looser among the young, 61 per cent of the 18-to-29 set think affairs are wrong—compared with 48 per cent of 30- to 44-year-olds and a mere 45 per cent of over-65s. Asked about having many sexual partners before settling down, only 21 per cent of Canadians say that is desirable. At 30 per cent, baby boomers are more accepting than average—but less permissive than the fast-growing young boomers (30 per cent).

Beyond ethics and values, the poll also taps into what might be called generational identity—how people think about their own and other age-groups in society. With some exceptions, the results suggest that Canadians see at once confidence in today's youth and respect for elders. Asked whether they think "the world has changed so much... that people over 40 are less likely than those under 20 very little," only 31 per cent of respondents agreed. In fact, fully 62 per cent of baby boomers—that age-group so often saddled with a rebellious, disaffected reputation—disagree. Conversely, at the other end of the scale, more than half the people over 65 agree with the statement that they have little to teach to today's youth. Baby boomers are more likely by than other age-groups to blame their problems on older generations. But even the 18- to 29-year-olds, under a quarter (23 per cent), compared with 35 per cent overall agree with the notion that "my parents' generation really messed things up for those coming along after them."

On the other hand, the poll respondents are reluctant to brand young people as slackers. Just over a third—37 per cent—agree with the statement, "People under 30 today don't seem to have much initiative or motivation." Not surprisingly, the 18- to 29-year-olds themselves are least likely to agree—although even among them a significant 30 per cent think their peers need to pull up



Sickman: younger people are skeptical of governments' ability to eliminate their deficits

their socks. But the next generation up is much more likely to pass negative judgment on the seniors. Among 30- to 39-year-olds, 45 per cent say the under-20s lack initiative—the highest of any age-group except seniors (45 per cent). But most tellingly, perhaps, a majority of respondents in all age-groups—and 75 per cent overall—express optimism about the future for the next generation coming along. "The older generations are concerned about the prospects for young people," says Gregg. "But there's no kind of hysteria about the next generation."

Paradoxically, given that they share so many attitudes, the generations all feel strongly that they are distinct. A majority of respondents—54 per cent—say they believe their own generation is different from any other. Most likely to feel distinct, the baby boomers, at 60 per cent. Least likely the 30- to 39-year-olds, still at a significant 49 per cent. So what differences do the younger poll participants see? Williams, the McGill grad student, says she does not want to be painted as the voice of twenty-point-

things—"there's so much diversity in my generation as in past generations." But she does think that a sense of righteousness in characteristics people under 30 a generation raised in a time of fairly disintegration and de-fusing faith in religion. "Because we don't have religion as much, I think we have to spend more time working out what's right and what's wrong," says Williams. "Our grandparents provided our parents with a lot of wisdom. They had a very clear value system passed down to them, but we've had to figure out a lot of it for ourselves." That may well be true. But if their poll responses are any indication, the conclusions that Canadian youth have reached about right and wrong are hardly shocking or revolutionary. When it comes to values, at least, they seem to share with other Canadians a grounding in—stereotypical—quality: they are destined to be decent. □



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GOING IT ALONE

Canadians dream of running their own businesses

Like any opportunity, it comes in a flash. Until three years ago, Stephen Gardner had slugged it out as a researcher and producer for various Toronto television organizations—a respectable semi-employee for CTV, CBC and TVOntario, the province's public network. By age 37, he felt he had hit a glass ceiling. "When I was in broadcasting," he recalls, "I just felt that there was only so far I could go." In July, 1996, he took the big leap and started up his own one-man video and TV production company, optimistically called *Shoot for the Top Productions*. The first year of business was tough—to say the least. "Basically," Gardner says, "I went from making \$35,000 to negative \$5,000." Since then, business has turned around, thanks in part to the support of his wife, Kim, a lawyer, and in part to his growing contacts with large in charge of his own destiny. In 1996, *Shoot for the Top* turned a profit; in 1997, for the first time since setting up the business, Gardner expects to earn more money than he did in broadcasting. And he says he would go back to work for somebody else even for a higher salary. "The lesson was quick," he adds. "I love the challenge of doing business."

That is a challenge that many Canadians would like to share, according to the *Maclean's/CBC News-year-end poll*. But it is only one aspect of attitudes towards work that emerge in the survey, which asked Canadians about a host of employment issues—from their preferred size of business to work to whether they would be comfortable with a female boss (81 per cent said they would). In all, the poll reveals a self-reliant, confident workforce that seems to be adapting to the strenuous realities of work in the 1990s. Confidence, in fact, appear to be contracting a concept similar to one espoused by economist R. P. Schumacher in 1973: small is beautiful. And not beautiful in even better.

In a time of continued corporate downsizing even as the economy is relatively healthy, the poll suggests that the allure of entrepreneurship by big organizations has had its day. Asked what size of company they would prefer to work for, a plurality of respondents—41 per cent—said one with around 20 employees. Next most popular was about 100 employees (21 per cent). Business of 500 or 1,000 were given only 10 and 15 per cent support, respectively. (Those who would prefer working for smaller companies (200 employees



Workplace fantasy

63% say they would rather be in a business on their own than work in a company

or less, fully 55 per cent said the biggest attraction was "a freer, less formal atmosphere." The next most common reason, at a distant 16 per cent, the perception that smaller employers are more loyal to their workers—and less likely to lay them off.

Given a choice, however, a majority of Canadians would prefer to be their own bosses. Asked whether they would rather work on their own or in a company, fully 63 per cent chose the independence option. This preference was stronger among men than women (67 per cent compared with 56 per cent). And it was most popular among the youngest age groups—25 to 29-year-olds and 30 to 39-year-olds—many of whom entered the workforce during the recession of the early 1980s and early 1990s.

Catherine Swift, president of the 88,000-member Canadian Federation of Independent Business, says those numbers reflect not only a burgeoning optimism fuelled by a recovering economy, but also an increasingly pragmatic view of the job market. The bonus rate of the postwar economy—flicking employment with one company—is a decidedly remote prospect for most workers in the 1990s. "I think there is a mix of risks and rewards out there," adds Swift. "There is a growing sense that the old job-for-life is not as prevalent—those types of jobs are drying up like a lot of people." According to Swift, about 40 per cent of the Canadian workforce is either self-employed or in a business of 50 employees or fewer. And she says that now is a good time to think small. "It's the people making the real smaller firms here in the economy, and it's become more acceptable to aspire to that kind of future," Swift adds. "There is no question that there are a lot more open doors now than 10 years ago."

If the economy is favorable for independent business, then Canadians also have two other things going for them: their desire for fulfilling employment and their commitment to the work ethic. Fully 99 per cent of poll respondents said having a job that gives them personal fulfillment and happiness was important. (Making less money earned a relatively small 58 per cent importance rating.) And 92 per cent of respondents (including 94 per cent of under 30s) agreed with the statement, "If you are prepared to work hard, you can still get ahead." It is an attitude that no doubt comes in handy for Canadian entrepreneurs—and even those who would just like to be one.

JOE CHIDLEY

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PRIVATE PLEASURES

Newfoundland retains its bragging rights in the sex stakes

The big issues—the environment, the GST, free trade—have come and gone in Canadians' minds, but one thing has remained constant in the 14 years of Maclean's year-end poll: Newfoundland's championship in the nation's bedrooms. This year, fully 77 per cent of the island's respondents describe themselves as sexually active, a statistically insignificant notch down from last year's 78 per cent, and still well above the national average of 64 per cent. Compared to the sexual slacker in British Columbia—whose 54 per cent was the lowest level of wilderness activity—there would appear to be a whole lot of loving going on in Canada's youngest province. Pivoted for an explanation, Rick Mercer, the wisecracking co-star of CBC TV's *The Next Best Thing* in Montreal, is uncharacteristically at a loss for words. "Fog and fish make us friendly," offers the St. John's native gently. "Fog and fish make us horny. Fog and fish make us want to..." But could it be, as some have suggested, that there is simply little else to do on the Rock? Mercier, who depicts Newfoundlanders as "the most provincial of provincials," responds: "No, they're just plain."

Beyond Newfoundland's personal prowess, this year's poll reveals some intriguing sexual trends. Throughout the '90s, the poll has registered a waning in Canadian sex drive, rising speculation that a new "causticity" was taking hold, particularly among young people. But last year, with sexual activity hovering not points to 60 per cent of respondents, it looked like sex was making a come back (although the number remained well below the high of 75 per cent in Maclean's first year-end survey in 1984). This year's figure, however, falls less at 64 per cent—suggesting that any speculation of a sexual renaissance may have been premature.

At the same time, the latest polling reinforces earlier findings on several fronts. It reaffirms that people who report the most active sex lives tend to have a lot of other things going for them—better levels of education, higher incomes and a more optimistic outlook on life. It reveals to boot that the happier you are about life as a whole, the more positive you are about your sex life, says pollster Allan Gregg. Moreover, too, appears to be something of a sex odd—Canadians who are in fixed relationships continue to report higher levels of sexual activity than those without partners. One final twist in the sexual relationship between sex and other forms of social interaction: The more often people go to bars, attend concerts or eat out in restaurants, the less likely they are to engage in sex. Otherwise Gregg: "It's not the ones who are out and about who are bedding like mad; it's the people who are staying home." (As if to confirm the thesis, fully a quarter of Newfoundlanders claim not to have gone out for their last sexual activity in the past month.)

This year's Maclean's/CBC News poll included



ed several questions intended to gauge to what degree Canadians are practicing safe sex. The results reveal some striking generational differences. The so-called baby boomers—aged 38 to 49—are at least twice as likely to wear condoms as any other age group. But they are also twice as likely to believe their chances of contracting a sexually transmitted disease have increased in the last two years. Jean Hughes, an associate professor with the school of nursing at Dalhousie University, says the findings reflect the era when the birth control pill was out. "The AIDS scare came along at the time when the oldest among those people were teenagers," she notes. "They have lived an awful lot about it and become very concerned."

While 35 per cent of baby boomers say they always wear condoms during sex—31% to four times the rate of baby boomers—it is sobering to note that 39 per cent say they never do. And according to Hughes, who counsels teenage mothers in the Halifax area, attitudes towards sex and its potential consequences are even

more among those under the age of 18. "Young people just are very casual," says Hughes.

While 100% work is obviously needed in the area of promoting safe sex, the polling also shows that half the population—the men—might want to reflect on the veracity of their responses. Men consistently report a more active sex life than women—this year, by a margin of 74 per cent to 51 per cent. The conventional wisdom is that men exaggerate their bedroom performance. Which raises an obvious question about those ready Newfoundlanders: are they perhaps guilty of some embellishment? "They are not lying," asserts Mercer, rising to the challenge. "Newfoundlanders are, by and large, a humble lot. If anything, we're probably understating the facts."

BARBARA HARRINGTON in Halifax

A DISTINCTLY QUEBECONIST SOCIETY

Quebecers know how to enjoy life's pleasures

Never mind language or legal systems. Perhaps the true measure of Quebecers' distinctiveness is their dedication to the pursuit of happiness. The signs of hedonism in Quebec are as easy to spot as mountains in British Columbia. On the trendy St-Laurent Boulevard strip near downtown Montreal, people chat their way through happy hour at Steel Café, a restaurant/bar that closes at 3 a.m. Running a beer and wine developer, Louis Gauthier, 38, mentions that even though many Quebecers share a drinking addiction, "we always hold on to the certainty that enjoying life is important." The Maclean's/CBC News poll underscores Gauthier's observation, portraying Quebecers as the most pleasure-seeking—and permissive—of Canadians.

Compared with the average of respondents elsewhere, Quebecers are more likely to go to the theatre, take in a concert or a movie, watch or play a sport, or eat out at a restaurant. They are also more likely to consider a healthy sex life important (63 per cent, compared with 63 per cent in the rest of Canada), and they place a close second to Atlantic Canadians in classifying themselves as sexually active (70 and 69 per cent, compared with a national average of 64 per cent). "Quebecers' willingness to embrace hedonism," says pollster Allan Gregg, "is probably the most prominent distinction between English and French Canadians—even those liberal attitudes reflect an explicit policy. 'Quebecers are for more pro-woman's rights,' says Gregg, "and for more tolerance of the welfare state approach of government."

The hedonists themselves usually chalk up those differences to European influences. "Quebecers have a sense of themselves as Latin," says Montreal writer and humorist Josh Freed. "They're supposed to have fun; they're supposed to like eating, drinking and the sexual thing. And that's the great attraction of the sexual scene, they are more likely than other Canadians to have a 75- to 65-per-cent ratio to place a high importance on having a fulfilling job. And in the making lots of money, considerably more Quebecers (69 per cent) than Canadians elsewhere (55 per cent) ranked it as important. But work does not seem to preclude fun in Quebec. "There is no Protestant work ethic here," maintains Freed. "There is no machine gun in this province in working hard or then your neighbor."

In fact, Quebecers appear less likely in general to judge their neighbors, exhibiting a live-and-let-live attitude on a range of issues, social and ethical. While 60 per cent of respondents in the rest of Canada find it totally unacceptable for a person to be a long-term relationship to have an affair, only 45 per cent of Quebecers share that view. Quebecers are less likely to object to openly gay and lesbian teach-



Marking the scene in Montreal: "We're more inclined to party. Why, God knows."

ers (31 per cent, compared with 39 per cent elsewhere). And fewer of them oppose abortion on moral grounds—33 per cent, compared with 40 per cent in the rest of Canada.

Beyond the Latin heritage, theories about Quebecers' liberal attitudes often lead back to the Roman Catholic Church's once-permissive role in Quebec society before the Quiet Revolution in the 1960s. Solange Lefebvre, a theologian and anthropologist at the Université de Montréal, interprets the permissiveness as part of an anti-church backlash. As she puts it, "There is a sort of allergy that developed towards very defined laws and constraints." Others simply find the phenomenon confounding. "I don't understand why it's more open here than elsewhere," acknowledges sociologist Jacques Boivin of the Université du Québec à Montréal. He agrees on issues like abortion, but insists the explanation is not a reaction to the church's influence. "We can't explain it that easily," Boivin cautions.

Nor can some of the rowdiers along St-Laurent Boulevard. Across the street from Steel Café, a young businessman taking time out for dinner before heading off to a meeting struggles to explain Quebecers' different nature. "English Canada seems colder," says Jean Malouin, 36, an advertising sales manager who lived in Toronto for four years as a teenager. "We're more inclined to party. Why, God knows." The reasons may not be crystal clear but the verdict is in, as the author's trendsetting pleasure-seekers, Quebecers are definitely not allergic to enjoying life.

BRIGITTE KRANSWILL in Montreal

The rise and fall of carnal capers

Percentage saying they are sexually active, by age



Regional affairs

Percentage considering it totally unacceptable for someone in a long-term relationship to have an affair





HEALTHY OPTIONS

The poll finds strong support for alternative treatments

BY SHARON DOYLE DRIEDGER

Cindy Kelley felt a little apprehensive as she approached the health spa on sunny Saturday in June. "I had walked by Hallow Creek spa many times and I never had the courage to go in," the market researcher recalls. But this time, Kelley, 42, was determined to find out if aromatherapy could help ease her chronic sinusitis. "I was a little bit leery," she says. "But I had tried everything else and I'd been on decongestants for years." What followed was an hour-and-a-half consultation and treatment with Alan Hart, an aromatherapist at an alternative health-care centre in downtown Winnipeg. There, surrounded by Kelley's symptoms, cradled what she calls a "wooden", splitting island of olive-leaved, rosemary, lemon and ylang-ylang (from a south Asian tree)—and applied them to her skin in a body massage. He also gave her a sample of the potion and instructed her to rub a few drops into her neck, back and upper chest once a day. "After two or three weeks, I threw away the decongestant," says Kelley. "I wasn't nearly as congested."

This year's Maclean/CBC News year-end survey reveals that, like Kelley, many Canadians are turning to experiment with an array

of alternative health-care treatments, some of them dismissed not long ago as fads. *New Age* hocusfocuses. A solid majority—57 per cent—of poll respondents report that they have consulted a chiropractor, massage therapist, acupuncturist, naturopath, herbologist or aromatherapist. The survey also finds that almost half—47 per cent—have become more receptive to alternative health-care practices in the past five years, compared with just 31 per cent who say they have lost faith.

Gaining ground

47% of respondents say they are more receptive to the idea of seeking treatment from an alternative health-care professional than they were five years ago

The trend cuts across all age-groups, with surprising consistency. Even the elderly typically more conservative patients are interested, with 44 per cent of respondents aged 65 and older reporting more openness to alternative therapies. "Attitudes definitely are changing," says David Peterson, the Calgary-based president of the Canadian Chiropractic Association. Patients, and even some physicians, are more informed about the benefits of nontraditional medicine, he says. "When I started 20 years ago, we were quacks," adds Peterson. "Now, medical doctors are starting to train in special modalities themselves."

Canadians are clearly not abandoning modern medicine. The vast majority—85 per cent, according to the poll—still say they would turn to a physician first if they felt unwell. All the same time, as astounding 55 per cent say they would trust a herbal remedy more

than a prescription from a medical doctor. "There is a contingent out there who are very suspicious of drugs," says Toronto physiotherapist Zoltan Berez, author of *The Joy of Health: A Doctor's Guide to Nutrition and Alternative Medicine*. Berez and others believe that concern about the possible long-term side-effects of powerful pharmaceuticals and invasive medical procedures are boosting the popularity of unconventional therapies.

The poll also suggests that, despite such open shifts, Canadians are still cautious, turning to the largest numbers to the more established forms of alternative medicine. While about 40 per cent of those surveyed had consulted a chiropractor and nearly 25 per cent had visited a massage therapist, barely 10 per cent had tried acupuncturists, naturopaths or herbologists. Among those per cent had consulted a midwife or an aromatherapist.

Some alternative therapies are still a hard sell. "Aromatherapy is not a quick fix," cautions Berez. "It's gentle, subtle." Not, he adds, does it have the advantage of decades of lobbying. "Chiropractic is a professional body," he notes. "So its message therapy—we're all trying to get to that level." And some Canadians only turn to alternative treatments as a last resort. "In my practice, I don't see many more threats," says Vancouver herbalist Beth Maria. "It's usually cancer or people put through the conventional model and spat out the other end."

But medicines are expected to diminish in the coming months. "There is a big demand," says Vicki Van Warner, director of Ryerson Polytechnic University's midwifery program in Toronto. "There are so few of us that we turn away five times as many women as we can take care of." Currently, Ontario is the only province in which midwives are a legal, fully licensed part of the health-care system. Although many provinces plan to follow suit, most government health insurance plans do not yet cover the cost of a midwife. But, considering that they must compete with the paid services of obstetricians and family physicians, says Warner, "I'm delighted that three per cent of Canadians are being served by midwives."

The poll reveals one particularly striking anomaly. Although residents of Atlantic Canada are slightly more receptive to alternative medicine than respondents in other regions, only 15 per cent had consulted a chiropractor, compared with a whopping 51 per cent in the Prairies, 46 per cent in British Columbia, 46 per cent in Ontario and 40 per cent in Quebec. "Unfortunately, it boils down to dollars-and-cents," says Peterson. "Out west, we have coverage through provincial health plans, which makes our services more accessible, whereas in the Atlantic provinces they don't." Dr. William Lefkowitz, a Greater N.S. physician and outspoken proponent of alternative practice, says that only underscores the need to improve services in the area. "The Atlantic region has some of the worst health statistics in cancer, heart disease and obesity," says Lefkowitz. "We also have the lowest socioeconomic status in the country." Lefkowitz notes, too, that the area has come through a period that was inhospitable to doctors. He himself, who accepted medical residency in the province in 1978, "There have been a lot of interruptions in the past," says Lefkowitz. "Now, that would be considered politically incorrect."

According to many alternative health-care practitioners, the poll reveals a glaring need for changes in the Canadian system. "We are uncovering a wealth of support," says LeValley, a member of Health Canada's national advisory committee on complementary medicine. "This increasing acceptance, but the system is ill and doesn't take that into account." As a result, he says, Canada already has a two-tier system. "One that already exists, where those without access to complementary care." This prescription "is greater openness" to alternative therapies through licensing authorities, insurance providers and medical schools. "We want it," adds Peterson. "We are not saying that we can replace medicine or that we can care over-physic, but we can care more that is more cost effective and more efficient." Just what the doctor ordered, many Canadians would say, for an overburdened, cost-conscious health-care system. □

Weighty considerations

The body image is almost as distorted as the reflections in a fun house mirror. In this year's Maclean/CBC News poll, 43 per cent of women say they consider themselves overweight, and just 30 per cent of men think the same way. At the same time, a solid majority of men—62 per cent—say they are "about the right weight," while barely half of women—54 per cent—say their weight is acceptable. But a reality check and a set of scales point a different picture—of the men, at least in fact, 57 per cent of men and 40 per cent of women are overweight, according to Dalhousie University epidemiologist Michel Joffres, who helped collect national height and weight data for the recent Canada Heart Health Survey. "Men do not like to admit that they should lose weight," says Joffres. "But a lot of women in the normal range—and a significant number of women who are underweight—still want to lose weight."

The poll also reveals one that only underscores the need to improve services in the area. "The Atlantic region has some of the worst health statistics in cancer, heart disease and obesity," says Lefkowitz. "We also have the lowest socioeconomic status in the country." Lefkowitz notes, too, that the area has come through a period that was inhospitable to doctors. He himself, who accepted medical residency in the province in 1978, "There have been a lot of interruptions in the past," says Lefkowitz. "Now, that would be considered politically incorrect."

Tipping the scales

- 43% of women and 33% of men think they are overweight
 - 32% of women and 27% of men say they have been trying to improve their health
- one's liver. Canadians have been on a diet to improve their health—though not specifically to lose weight—in the past three months. And, not too surprisingly, many women are dieting. "Men tend in general to have a much better view of their bodies," says Marguerite Ratt, general manager for Weight Watchers in southern Ontario. "Even if they are carrying extra pounds, it's OK. They don't perceive themselves as being overweight."
- "I have a husband like that," says Lynn Merritt, 51, an executive secretary from Mississauga, Ont. "He is about 30 lb. too OK." Merritt, now trimmed to 143 lb. on a five-foot, four-inch frame, decided to slim down a few years ago. "I was well over 200 lb. and starting to feel the health problems—bad knees, wheezing," she says. "I couldn't do a flight of stairs if my life depended on it." Her partner had weight, too, when Merritt began to work less fattening foods but he soon gave up. "He lost 30 lb.," says Lynn. "But he decided he didn't like vegetables. He's in the same boat. I was in."
- In fact, many Canadians are stuck in a rut of too many calories, too little exercise. An overwhelming 93 per cent of poll respondents say it is important to be physically fit. If only 40 per cent say they played a sport, and just 18 per cent worked out in a gym, in the previous month. Len Beattie, a personal trainer, suggests that the 18 per cent who went to a gym were also among those who participated in a sport. "There are no incentives—people who go roller-blading are also out hiking and biking," says Beattie, 27. "And
- who have the remote control in their hand instead of the time. They all know exercise is important, but they say, 'I'm not comfortable putting on spandex and going to the gym.' It's not about the money, it's about the feeling by motivating the habit by to join their coaches to join outdoor fitness programs—everything from cycle-park walking, hiking, cross-country skiing to snow-shoveling in the Rockies." "I don't anymore," says Beattie. "I try to promote a healthy lifestyle. It's about getting out there and doing things you enjoy, not feeling bad because you don't have the right look."

The poignant struggle of earning income with through Le Miché Magique, a Montreal store chock-

abundant with every imaginable item for a New Age clientele. Colorful tarot cards lie on display and dream catchers—light wooden frames with webbing to ward off nightmares—hang from the ceiling. Men and women, mainly young, browse through bookshelves containing such titles as *Connecting the Spirit World* and *Unlock Your Psychic Powers*. A man hoping for a glimpse of the future strolls over to a secluded corner for a tarot card reading. The uncertainty of life as a shop job market has prompted this first visit; says the man, too self-conscious to reveal his name or much about himself, "You wonder if you're still going to have a job tomorrow, this week or in a month's time," he says.

The customers of Le Miché Magique



ber's Eastern Townships who preferred not to reveal her last name, has been doing tarot card readings since she was a teenager. Some people consult her about "worldly issues" like relationships and jobs, Marie-Anne says. But they also ask questions like "How can I improve myself?" and "What do I have to learn?" People in the soothsaying business say they see plenty of evidence that acceptance of the psychic phenomena is growing. "When I started my career 35 years ago, I found it was really a taboo," says JoJo Savard, the 44-year-old Quebec astrologer behind JoJo's Psychic Alliance, a dial-a-psychic telephone service. Now, she counts several lawyers among recent clients. "And we're not talking about stupid people, either," she adds. "They want to know more." The poll results, however, suggest a diminishing public acceptance of psychic phenomena. Almost half the respondents—46 per cent—say they are less

receptive to consulting a soothsayer than they were five years ago, while only 13 per cent say their receptivity has grown.

Among the disaffected is 21-year-old Forestville, Que., home-maker Michèle Tremblay. After three daily predictions from tarot card readers, Tremblay says she will not let any of her fortune money in one memorable instant, two years ago, a reader told her she would not get pregnant that year—before realising Tremblay was already pregnant. "Then, she told me, 'Ah, yes, you're going to have a girl,'" says Tremblay, who subsequently had a son. "She didn't know what she was saying."

Others, however, remain interested in the paranormal—or at least in paraphernalia. Poll respondent Dave Laflamme, 35, who is studying electrical engineering at Dalhousie University in Halifax, says he uses tarot cards, but as an entertaining tool for self-discovery. "I don't believe as much in the supernatural," he says. "But just the fact that you're thinking about your life when you do it, that's probably why it's so enlightening." Whatever their perspective, some Canadians will no doubt keep knocking the national trend, searching the psychic realm for the inside scoop on what lies ahead.

BRENDA BRANSWELL, in Montreal

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LOOKING AHEAD

Many more women than men seek the guidance of fortune tellers

are part of a small contingent of Canadians who turn to the cards, mediums and stars for an eventful life's big mysteries. Only eight per cent of respondents in the *Maclean's*/CBC News poll say they have visited a tarot card reader—fewer a fortune teller, palm reader, astrologer, psychic or past-life channeler—in the past five years.

Who are these people who put their faith in soothsaying in the modern world? They could be called the New Age believers—the eight per cent of respondents who have both consulted at least one of those psychic practitioners and are among the 40 per cent of the population who believe strongly that "there are a lot of mysterious and unknown forces at work." That group is predominantly women (outnumbering men more than two to one) and under 30, most autonomous in Quebec, and not concentrated in any one income group. Their openness extends into other facets of their lives: they are more likely than the general population to describe themselves as liberals (by 64 to 56 per cent margin), and to approve of multiple sexual partners before settling down (50 to 21 per cent). They are also more likely to have consulted an alternative health-care practitioner for their medical needs (56 to 37 per cent).

According to one woman shopping in Le Miché Magique, those people "want to be guided." Marie-Anne, 35, an illustrator from Que-

The unknown

• 60% believe "there are a lot of mysterious and unknown forces in the world that we simply don't understand"

TO TELL THE TRUTH

Since before Dudley Do-Right donned a scarlet nose and poignantly revealed his secret, Neil Connollys have been browed a nation of do-gooders. Love it or hate it, the reputation seems well-earned. According to their responses to the Maclean's/CBC News poll, Canadians really are honest, moral, ethical and tolerant—if they do say so themselves. Basking the nation that years of hard times have encouraged self-centred insensitivity, the poll found 85 per cent of respondents believe it is important to live their lives according to a strict moral code. And whether it is keeping their word or cheating on their income taxes, large majorities say it is wrong to give in to temptation. The results demonstrate how deeply integrity is ingrained in the Canadian identity, says pollster Alan Gregg. "By and large," he concludes, "Canadians are pretty good people."

Even so, just how much stock Canadians place in honesty depends on their situation in life. Overall, just 18 per cent say it would be foolish to turn a wallet they found with money in it over to police, and only 12 per cent think it acceptable to cheat on income tax. But the numbers divide along regional, economic and societal lines, with the most privileged claiming the highest regard for honesty. Geographically, Prairie dwellers seem most likely to pay their full share of the tax bill—just eight per cent call it acceptable to misstate income in order to pay lower taxes. At the other end of the scale, 35 per cent of Quebecers say it is not cheating to fudge their tax facts.

Quebecers are also more likely than others to think it would be foolish to hand in a wallet containing money (14 per cent). But age and social status also were determining factors. Just four per cent of respondents in their 40s and older say they would look at the thought of turning over the wallet and the money. On the other hand, 18 per cent of respondents with no more than high school education are inclined to keep the money, as are the oldest and youngest respondents—35 per cent of seniors and 12 per cent of the baby boom generation (aged 18 to 35). The same groups are more likely to believe that honesty is far cheaper. Nationwide, 71 per cent of respondents said people who are overly honest are often taking advantage of The numbers reach their highest among baby boomers (75 per cent), seniors (76 per cent), and low income earners (78 per cent). That comes as no surprise to Arthur Schafer, director of the University of Manitoba's Centre for Professional and Applied Ethics. "Honesty lingers on the

Canadians really are honest and upright, if they do say so themselves

border people have to their consciences," he says. Seniors lose their sense of community when their pensions erode, and young people's loyalty to their society wavers when there are few job prospects and little long-term

security. "If I am faced with unemployment, or if I am told I have to look after my own pension, my own health care and my own welfare," says Schafer, "I do not feel a bond with the community." Active cynical analysis would suggest that those who led politicians they would keep a wallet or cheat on their taxes are simply being more realistic than other respondents. People are rationalizing dishonesty when asked about their integrity, says Rev. Chris Lewis, an Edmonton United Church minister and author on spiritual and ethical issues. Apparently, virtuous baby boomers may be lying about their honesty, he adds, because with a large and still-growing stake in the community, they have the most to lose by admitting their indiscretions. "Now that we are in positions of power," says Lewis, himself 44, "we are not about to accept ourselves as hypocrites."

On questions of tolerance, the poll shows a growing acceptance of diversity, a shift that Gregg and other experts attribute largely to the influence of Canadian youth. "The younger generation seems more open and accepting of social differences," says Gregg, "and they are pre-

dicting the rest of us forward that way."

Perhaps the biggest shift is to attitudes towards homosexuality. Not a decade ago, 29 per cent say they are bothered by openly gay or lesbian teachers in schools, a dramatic drop from 56 per cent when the 1982 poll asked the same question. Young Canadians, many of whom have been taught by openly homosexual teachers, are most accepting (20 per cent object), while senior citizens are least tolerant (37 per cent object).

Tolerance also appears in attitudes towards another difficult ethical issue: abortion. The poll shows that 65 per cent of respondents believe abortion is morally wrong. But previous research indicates that fully 65 per cent of Canadians would leave the decision to have an abortion to a woman and her doctor. To Gregg, it is further evidence that, even when they hold strong beliefs, Canadians do not tend to force them upon others. And for that, the nation can proudly polish its collective halo.

Most likely to say only a fool would turn a wallet with money in it over to police:
18- to 29-year-olds (13%)
and the over-65s (15%)



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Active at Calgary Zoo is \$5.7-million broadcaster

HACLEAN'S CBC NEWS POLL

GIFT OF GIVING

Canadians agree on the importance of charity

Ed Galvin has happy memories of visiting the Calgary Zoo two years ago to see about 20 elementary school children having their classes there. They were taking part in a program that gets students away from the school environment to learn about wildlife in a practical way. Each group spends a week at the zoo, helping to care for animals in between their regular lessons. "I even got to go inside the tiger cage with the kids," says Galvin, 94. "It was great fun." The program has been running for three years, funded by a donation from Unifon—\$2 million worth of shares in Calgary-based Poco Petroleum Ltd., the firm he founded and can until his retirement two years ago.

In November, in memory of his wife, Frances, who died last May, Galvin donated another \$3.1 million of his shares, once again to the Calgary Foundation, an organization that handles several hundred endowment funds that support 220 causes in the city, including the zoo program. "A lot of people want only they do and have their estate give to charity," says Galvin, who is still a member of the Poco board of directors. "I wanted to give something back now to the community where I've lived and prospered."

While the magnitude of Galvin's donations sets him apart, the charitable impulse is becoming more Canadian share. The Maclean's/CBC News poll finds 75 per cent of respondents agreeing with the statement: "No matter what your income, I believe we have a large responsibility to donate to charitable organizations." Fully 92 per cent say that helping the community in some way is important to them. What is more, the charitable urge is common to all means and age groups. "There are broadly based, deeply rooted values," says

Michael Saffian, a partner in The Strategic Counsel, which conducted the poll. "Even so, when it comes to the size of charitable donations, Canadians tend their neighbors to the south. On average, Americans give two per cent of their income to charity, while Canadians donate 1.4 per cent. One reason for the difference, Saffian suggests, could be the larger role government plays in Canada. "A lot of Canadians believe they are helping the needy through their higher taxes, which go to support social programs," he says.

But the charity is spirit seems to be enjoying a resurgence in Canada. Donations to charities climbed by 13.5 per cent in 1990—the largest single-year increase since 1964—to a total of \$3.97 billion. That is a major shift from earlier in the decade. "If you look at the period 1980 to 1985," says Gordon Floyd, director of public affairs for the Canadian Centre for Philanthropy, representing hundreds of registered charities, "the total was up only two per cent over the last decade."

The capital gains credit was a factor in this latest donation, Galvin acknowledges. But he says it was not his key motivation. "My sense is that with government cutting its support for programs like welfare and other areas," he says, "the burden has shifted to the community, and people who are able to help out are more sensitive to the need." Galvin is not alone in seeing the shrinking of government funding as the main cause of boosted charitable giving. "People see the cutbacks and they realize the more in many cases now is on their lists to pick up the slack," says Stan Aylenworth, executive director at the Calgary Foundation, which has received \$14 million in contributions in 1991, up 35 million since 1981.

Not everyone has been hit by such strains. The workplace often applies subtle pressures to be charitable. And, says Dick Thomas, an executive recruiter in Calgary, "some employers simply like to see the people they are hiring putting something back into the community. Besides, being involved in charitable activities can expand your network of contacts," says Thomas. Whatever the reason, a growing commitment to the cause is welcome news to the many over-burdened charities.

DALE BERGER in Calgary

HACLEAN'S CBC NEWS POLL

OUT ON THE TOWN

The energetic young are flocking to nightclubs

Candles gutter warmly on tables and behind a bar stocked with premium whiskies and laced with martinis glasses. Pleasant Nickel City Slim sounds are being gently blowing another through the grown boys from the smoke of Havana cigars in a corner, Dances Pold and Laurie Nichols hold hands under the table. He is 36, and in the morning he will get up at 5 to deliver bagels. She is 23, a part-time makeup artist, mother of a three-year-old daughter. Last night, at the Purple Onion dance and jazz club on the fringe of Vancouver's Gastown, they look like a fun couple. They close the place partly for the people—80-90s Toni Spelling has been spotted in the Onion. But mostly, Nichols says, "for the music." Adds Pold: "We like the old stuff, Duke Ellington, Artie Shaw, Coltrane."

For the young of the Nineties, the retro glories of martinis, cigars and jazz are among the hottest new diversions. Evidence is in the lines outside the 19-year-old Vancouver nightclub's door each weekend—and in responses to a question in the Maclean's/CBC News poll asked if uncovering how Canadians spend their leisure hours. It comes as no surprise to learn that the fit and energetic young are more likely to be out and about—whether going to the movies or scaling a mountain—than other age groups. Closer to the top, as the whole, out of the nightclubs more recreational impulses than the past 30, the Maclean's survey reveals some surprising differences—and some new ones. Canadians look back from coast to coast.

Among their nightclubs, once the preserve of expense-account suits and lifestyle individuals on gold chains who paid cash, are now almost as popular for suburban Saturday night date as the latest Third Place. Among those 18 to 24, more than half (55 per cent) say they have been to a club in the past month, while 60 per cent have been to a movie. But the clubs are over-represented among the young. Among the next oldest age group, 25 to 35-year-olds, club-going plummeted to 37 per cent. Past the age of 40, barely one Canadian is seen out at the nightclubs.

Perhaps it is the energy thing. The young are also far and away the most likely to play a sport regularly. "I play ball hockey religiously," says Pold, adding, "every week for five years." Across town in particularly out-of-control Kelowna, 80 per cent of customers at the Boardroom, a store devoted to snowboards in winter and water skis in summer, are under 30. "It's the fun factor," says manager Gary McElreath, explaining his young clientele's preference for the colorful plastic over the other ways of getting down a mountain. "You play more on a snowboard."

Sporting fervor is spreading as well. Residents of Quebec and, just so, British Columbia are more likely than other Cana-



At the Purple Onion, couples and martinis

adians to play a sport—watching 54 per cent of Quebecers and 42 per cent of British Columbians say they do, compared with only 35 per cent of Ontarians or Prairies people and 37 per cent of Manitobans.

Some other truths about life:

- Playing games of chance is less because safety that does not disproportionately attract the rich, people whose incomes are under \$20,000 are just as likely to be among the 35 per cent who visited a gambling establishment.

- Across all categories of leisure, the Maclean's measured—from sports to visiting a bar or going to the theatre—men were more likely than women to say they had been there, more than that recently. The best gender balance is in the movies and the gym.

- Among ethnic groups, Asians seem to be having more fun—at least as measured by the number of respondents saying they had partaken of at least five of the 10 leisure activities on the list in the past month. Forty per cent of ethnic Asians said they had, followed closely by Europeans at 36 per cent.

What makes the country one time off, in terms out, is its slowness. Across every demographic slice, nearly three-quarters of Canadians

dropped out at a good restaurant at least once in the past month. The better off, unsurprisingly, were most likely to eat out 50 per cent, but even among the most thrice-daily grooved—earning less than \$20,000 a year—two-thirds said they had managed a good restaurant meal. In a nation of eaters, Saskatchewan leads in dining out. Prince Edward Island is cooking at home. On a December evening in Vancouver, though, a good martini, a perfectly rolled Colby omelette and a bluesman's guitar of fabled the smoking stage. That keeps drawing Canadians—especially the young—out into the night.

CHRIS WOOD in Vancouver

Dedicated to pleasure



Taking the pulse of a nation

For the 14th annual Maclean's year-end poll, The Strategic Counsel of Toronto questioned 1,400 adult Canadians between Nov. 6 and 11. CBC TV's *The National*, taking part in the venture for the third straight year, scheduled programs based on the poll results on Dec. 22 and 23.

Interviewed by telephone, respondents were selected randomly from all 10 provinces. (There was no sampling in the Yukon and Northwest Territories because of the difficulty of obtaining statistically significant polling results for such sparsely populated areas.) National results are considered accurate to within 3.1 percentage points, 19 times out of 20. Accuracy ranges are wider for results from individual provinces and subgroups.

Total percentages in some tables and charts do not add up to 100 because results are rounded off only, in most cases, "don't know" and no-answer responses have been eliminated.

Following are the national responses, expressed in percentages of respondents

GENERAL ATTITUDES

1. What is the most important problem facing Canada?

Unemployment/economy	34	25	19	16	6
Government/government spending	18	15	10	6	20
deficit	15	10	6	20	29
Social services/family/education	10	10	6	20	29
National unity/The Constitution	13	10	6	20	29
Taxes/US\$	4	10	6	20	29
Crime/Violence	4	10	6	20	29
Environment	4	10	6	20	29
Other/Don't know	13	10	6	20	29

2. Are you more or less optimistic about the future than you were 10 years ago?	10	10	6	20	29
Much more optimistic	10	10	6	20	29
A little more optimistic	10	10	6	20	29
A little more pessimistic	10	10	6	20	29
Much more pessimistic	10	10	6	20	29
Feelings, not changed much over the last 10 years	10	10	6	20	29

KEY VALUES

How much do you value in life with each of the following statements?

Strongly Agree	Some-what Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Some-what Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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3. Only a few would work in a world that would be based on money in the price.	6	6	2	12	75
4. I don't feel as strongly as society says you should in your tax return in order to pay your taxes.	17	9	7	14	53
5. It is totally unreasonable for a person in a foreign country to have an affair.	17	9	7	14	53
6. The way it has changed in the last 20 years that people over 40 can teach their sons 25 years time about the world.	13	19	6	39	27
7. I believe there are a lot of opportunities out there for people of my generation.	24	29	9	26	20

21. If you had the choice, would you prefer to be business in your own or work for a company?	10	10	6	20	29
22. Which career best describes you?	10	10	6	20	29
23. I have a full-time job (skip to question 26).	10	10	6	20	29
24. I have a part-time job.	10	10	6	20	29
25. I am unemployed.	10	10	6	20	29
26. I am a housewife.	10	10	6	20	29
27. I am retired (skip to question 30).	10	10	6	20	29

28. Which of the following best describes as a reason for you having full-time paid work?	10	10	6	20	29
The types of full-time jobs available don't really interest me.	10	10	6	20	29
I would love to have my full-time job in the area in which I am skilled.	10	10	6	20	29
I am not seeking full-time work.	10	10	6	20	29

PERSPECTIVE

29. Would you describe yourself as someone who is liberal or conservative in their values and beliefs?	10	10	6	20	29
Very liberal	10	10	6	20	29
Somewhat liberal	10	10	6	20	29
Somewhat conservative	10	10	6	20	29
Very conservative	10	10	6	20	29

ALTERNATIVE LEAD

30. How do you view yourself?	10	10	6	20	29
As a person	10	10	6	20	29
As a person	10	10	6	20	29
As a person	10	10	6	20	29
As a person	10	10	6	20	29
As a person	10	10	6	20	29
As a person	10	10	6	20	29
As a person	10	10	6	20	29
As a person	10	10	6	20	29
As a person	10	10	6	20	29

31. If you had a continuing period of not feeling well, but did not believe the problem was life-threatening, which would you consult first?	10	10	6	20	29
A medical doctor	10	10	6	20	29
A chiropractor	10	10	6	20	29
An acupuncturist	10	10	6	20	29
A naturopath	10	10	6	20	29
A massage therapist	10	10	6	20	29
An aromatherapist	10	10	6	20	29
An acupuncturist	10	10	6	20	29
An acupuncturist	10	10	6	20	29
An acupuncturist	10	10	6	20	29

32. How would you rate your health?	10	10	6	20	29
Excellent	10	10	6	20	29
Very good	10	10	6	20	29
Good	10	10	6	20	29
Fair	10	10	6	20	29
Poor	10	10	6	20	29
Very poor	10	10	6	20	29
Don't know	10	10	6	20	29

33. How would you rate your health?	10	10	6	20	29
Excellent	10	10	6	20	29
Very good	10	10	6	20	29
Good	10	10	6	20	29
Fair	10	10	6	20	29
Poor	10	10	6	20	29
Very poor	10	10	6	20	29
Don't know	10	10	6	20	29

34. How would you rate your health?	10	10	6	20	29
Excellent	10	10	6	20	29
Very good	10	10	6	20	29
Good	10	10	6	20	29
Fair	10	10	6	20	29
Poor	10	10	6	20	29
Very poor	10	10	6	20	29
Don't know	10	10	6	20	29

SOCIAL ATTITUDES

By how often do you disagree with the following statements?

35. Always	10	10	6	20	29
Sometimes	10	10	6	20	29
Never	10	10	6	20	29
Disagree	10	10	6	20	29
Disagree	10	10	6	20	29

36. It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29
It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29
It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29
It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29
It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29

37. It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29
It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29
It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29
It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29
It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29

38. It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29
It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29
It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29
It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29
It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29

39. It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29
It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29
It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29
It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29
It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29

40. It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29
It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29
It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29
It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29
It is better to have just one social partner than to have many.	10	10	6	20	29

41. You have to take care of yourself first before you can think of helping out others in the community.	10	10	6	20	29
You have to take care of yourself first before you can think of helping out others in the community.	10	10	6	20	29
You have to take care of yourself first before you can think of helping out others in the community.	10	10	6	20	29
You have to take care of yourself first before you can think of helping out others in the community.	10	10	6	20	29
You have to take care of yourself first before you can think of helping out others in the community.	10	10	6	20	29

42. You have to take care of yourself first before you can think of helping out others in the community.	10	10	6	20	29
You have to take care of yourself first before you can think of helping out others in the community.	10	10	6	20	29
You have to take care of yourself first before you can think of helping out others in the community.	10	10	6	20	29
You have to take care of yourself first before you can think of helping out others in the community.	10	10	6	20	29
You have to take care of yourself first before you can think of helping out others in the community.	10	10	6	20	29

BALANCED BUDGET

43. Looking ahead over the next few years, do you think government deficits will be higher or lower?	10	10	6	20	29
Significantly higher	10	10	6	20	29
Slightly higher	10	10	6	20	29
Slightly lower	10	10	6	20	29
Significantly lower	10	10	6	20	29

44. When should the government do with any extra money left over after the deficit is eliminated?	10	10	6	20	29
Pay down the debt	10	10	6	20	29
Pay for the new social program spending	10	10	6	20	29
Go back to the people as tax reductions	10	10	6	20	29

45. Should the government try to do a job of all these things at a time, or should it concentrate on just one thing to win and accomplish first?	10	10	6	20	29
All three	10	10	6	20	29
Concentrate on just one	10	10	6	20	29

QUEBEC

46. In the two years since the Quebec referendum, do you think the chances of Quebec leaving and Canada breaking up have increased or decreased?	10	10	6	20	29
Increased significantly	10	10	6	20	29
Increased somewhat	10	10	6	20	29
Remained the same	10	10	6	20	29
Decreased somewhat	10	10	6	20	29
Decreased significantly	10	10	6	20	29

47. In its dealings with Quebec over the last year, has the federal government been too tough or too soft?	10	10	6	20	29
Too tough	10	10	6	20	29
Too soft	10	10	6	20	29
Just about right	10	10	6	20	29
Neither too soft nor too tough	10	10	6	20	29
About right	10	10	6	20	29
Neither too soft nor too tough	10	10	6	20	29
About right	10	10	6	20	29
Neither too soft nor too tough	10	10	6	20	29
About right	10	10	6	20	29

48. The federal government has asked the Supreme Court of Canada to decide on the legality of Quebec separating without first reaching an agreement with the rest of Canada. It is asking questions about whether Quebec should have the right to secede. What three factors would be most important in your mind to decide if Quebec has the right to secede?	10	10	6	20	29
Whether Quebec has the right to secede	10	10	6	20	29
Whether Quebec has the right to secede	10	10	6	20	29
Whether Quebec has the right to secede	10	10	6	20	29
Whether Quebec has the right to secede	10	10	6	20	29

Very confident	10	10	6	20	29
Somewhat confident	10	10	6	20	29
Not at all confident	10	10	6	20	29

49. Everything about the party they represent, with among the following federal leaders could do the best job of leading the fight of jobs in the next referendum?	10	10	6	20	29
Joe Clark	10	10	6	20	29
Tom Chalkley	10	10	6	20	29
Provincial Minister	10	10	6	20	29
Alma McLaughlin	10	10	6	20	29
Undecided/Don't know	10	10	6	20	29

50. The provinces not recently without jobs in the last of Quebec and brought forward their own proposals for keeping Canada together. Do you think proposals by the provinces will be better or worse than the federal government's?	10	10	6	20	29
Better	10	10	6	20	29
Worse	10	10	6	20	29
Don't know	10	10	6	20	29

PERSONAL PRACTICES

51. In the last month did you...	10	10	6	20	29
Go to a doctor	10	10	6	20	29
Go to a doctor	10	10	6	20	29
Go to a doctor	10	10	6	20	29
Go to a doctor	10	10	6	20	29
Go to a doctor	10	10	6	20	29
Go to a doctor	10	10	6	20	29
Go to a doctor	10	10	6	20	29
Go to a doctor	10	10	6	20	29
Go to a doctor	10	10	6	20	29

52. Are you now, or have you within the last few months, been on a special diet to lose weight?	10	10	6	20	29
Yes	10	10	6	20	29
No	10	10	6	20	29

53. Do you consider yourself...	10	10	6	20	29
Underweight	10	10	6	20	29
About the right weight	10	10	6	20	29
Overweight	10	10	6	20	29

54. How would you describe yourself as...	10	10	6	20	29
Very socially active	10	10	6	20	29
Somewhat socially active	10	10	6	20	29
Not very socially active	10	10	6	20	29
Not socially active at all	10	10	6	20	29
Refused/Don't know	10	10	6	20	29

55. In the last two years, do you think your chances of contracting a sexually transmitted disease have...	10	10
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At homewith Chrétien

IN A BALMY LATE-DECEMBER AFTERNOON, PRIME Minister Jean Chrétien was in conversation with *Maclean's* at his official residence when the telephone rang for the second time. Gesturing to an aide to silence the call, Chrétien said: "Push 'Do Not Disturb.'" The aide hit the button, exclaiming: "Ah, DND. I thought it was National Defence." Responded Chrétien with mock dismay: "They do not have a direct line here." That jocular reference to the controversy about the department's helicopter purchase plan revealed a Prime Minister in a chipper mood as he responded to questions in an hour-long interview at 24 Sussex Drive with Editor-in-Chief Robert Lewis and National Affairs Columnist Anthony Wilson-Smith. The discussion ranged over subjects from the economy and the Calgary declaration on the future shape of Canada to his role in the land mines agreement. On the personal side, the Prime Minister was pleased that the night before he had included his brothers and sisters in a boisterous Christmas party with his staff. Chrétien also conceded that his wife, Aline, who joined him for a photo session in the front parlor, had been upset for weeks in 1995 after an intruder with a knife broke into 24 Sussex Drive while they were sleeping. At times, Chrétien was remarkably forthright—conceding that the bitter attacks by opponents in his native province of Quebec are painful and that he did not like the role of leading the official Opposition. On a topic of intense speculation—his political future—the Prime Minister was more blunt and forthright than ever. He intends to serve out his current term—and then decide what comes next. Excerpts:

Maclean's: As we look back at the past year, what has changed?
Chrétien: We are more relaxed at this moment because it's less tough. Economically, the country is going quite well. We have more than four-per-cent growth with little inflation. Unemployment is going down, although not as rapidly as I would like. Parliament is functioning well and we have some very good successes. The land-mines treaty is a great success for the party, and the country. The ministers are more experienced and comfortable in their jobs. We have debates, of course—it would not be a cabinet if there weren't. I'm not a dictator; I just listen to them.

Maclean's: What difference have you and your government made in the past year?
Chrétien: People feel good. The government's role is to make people gain confidence in themselves. The election was unusual; nobody predicted anything but that the Liberals would win, so it became in many ways a huge byelection. Seven per cent of the voters did not bother to go to the polls because they were not highly motivated to kick us out and not highly motivated to come to vote, knowing that we would win.
Maclean's: Does the changed composition of this House make a difference?
Chrétien: For the anglophones in Canada—



WILLIAM HART/PHOTOGRAPH BY

and perhaps even a lot of francophones—they feel better not to have the Bloc Québécois adding all the first questions [as the official Opposition]. It's more normal to have an Opposition that is not a separatist party. [Four opposition parties] in the House help in a way for us. There's a lot of competition among them. When I go to Question Period as the Prime Minister, it's not a big burden. My staff don't have to push me like when I was in the Opposition—which was not a role I liked. In Opposition, your role is to oppose. For me, it was not natural. Very often, ministers would give me an answer that I agreed with. I had to get up and ask a supplementary question faking that typical outrage that makes good television clips.

Maclean's: You've decided to use the emerging surplus to deal with debt. What, beyond that, are the government's top two or three priorities?

Chrétien: We have two. We're investing \$10 billion that private child development centres, laboratories with the provinces, and we want investment in learning. Canada has the highest per-capita number of university graduates in all the world, but we have to maintain that and facilitate that for more people.

Maclean's: You've already put money back into the social policy and justice ministry's education. Do you see more money going towards those areas in the '98 budget?

Chrétien: No, I don't see that at this moment unless something happened. We have restored \$1.5 billion that was supposed to be cut. Now, we will look at the priorities that we have as a government and will do a series of investments, but not with a very great goal.

Maclean's: Do you plan to give the provinces a greater role in the Canada Health Act?

Chrétien: The Canada Health Act is the law and the law will apply. Now, what we want to do is to have a mechanism so that if we see that there are not enough resources that they would like to do something different, there will be consultation to try to find a solution in a rational way.

Maclean's: But will there be a greater role for the provinces?

Chrétien: Yes, I don't want to give them a greater role. What is important is the result.

've been elected for five years and I intend to serve my term'

But we exercise our constitutional powers and jurisdictions.

Maclean's: The courts are making a lot of decisions on what seems to be novel issues. That includes euthanasia and the legality of weapons sale for sporting purposes.

Are these court matters or should the elected Parliament be doing more?

Chrétien: These are very difficult social issues. Very often, parliamentarians don't want to legislate. If Parliament feels that the Supreme Court is moving in one direction too fast against its will, the pressure will come from parliamentarians and from the citizens eventually to deal with the problem.

Maclean's: Under what circumstances would you contemplate having a federal referendum in Quebec, or do you rule that out?

Chrétien: I never rule anything out. You've got to keep all the options open. We have the right to consult the people of Quebec and Alberta and British Columbia and anybody.

Maclean's: Are you referring to the possibility of a federal consultation about the Calgary declaration in Quebec?

Chrétien: I don't say no. I don't say yes, let's wait to see the evolution of the file.

Maclean's: Do you think there is any possibility there will be another Quebec referendum?

Chrétien: Of course, if the Liberals were to win the election there would not, it will be a big debate in the next election. People in Quebec are absolutely fed up with it. My view is that the Parti Québécois government could be defeated.

Maclean's: This played an integral role in the conclusion of the federal declaration. Are you continuing to stay in touch with the provinces about this?

Chrétien: Oh yes. We talked with them during the summer, as you all know. I told them that it was important for Canada that they did the agreement and they understood it and they moved. And there was consultation with me on the wording and so on. But I said, "It is your resolution, not mine." They wanted to know if I could live with it, and I said yes.

Maclean's: In the 1970s, you were as popular in Quebec that a lot of the prominent Liberals wanted you to run for the leadership. Since then, your popularity

has fallen sharply. Can that be changed?

Chrétien: It's coming back. There was a poll that said Lucien Bouchard was in the third [most popular politician in Quebec]—and I was number 4, not a big gap between myself and Bouchard. They blamed me for everything. You know all the damage it caused me because, after I won the leadership, [Jean-François Lévesque] and [Clayton Wells] laughed me. It had nothing to do with what happened in Quebec [with the collapse of the Meech Lake accord]. But they distorted that and told the public that. Now, the people are more realistic. It's tough, when you have everybody who far from never give you a break.

They were all shooting at me.

Maclean's: It must hurt personally?

Chrétien: Of course it hurt, but we're used to that. You have to look at yourself and say, I did what I did out of conviction.

Maclean's: What would have it meant to you if you lost?

Chrétien: Performance. For example, the number of phone calls and comments and friends who've told my family about the last man's success. Quebecers were very proud of that. In fact, [Jeanne Seaman, former Minister of Social Services] was a catalyst in getting it passed. Jeanne, Jeanne, Jeanne. Minister. Loyal. Accordingly, did work hard, but I was personally extremely involved. I called on every leader in the Commonsense, I signed up how many I don't know right at the Commonsense, and the same thing at the Francophone summit. So the people of Quebec look at the performance and the consistency in the way of the budget, the performance as a government, and now they don't shoot at me as much. They're shooting at Bouchard now.

Maclean's: Our year-end poll indicates that at this point, Plan B—pointing out the supreme consequences of unemployment—is working in Quebec. Do you say you just clarified the debate in this way before the 1995 referendum?

Chrétien: We did. In September, 1995, I said, "You won't break the country with one vote of majority." I said you don't have the guts to ask a clear question. This was part of the debate. The people were not listening. And that's another problem.



Maclean's: During its international duties, do you think the Americans are becoming more reluctant?

Chrétien: Ah, it's always a pushy type of thing. One of the arguments I had on free trade was that people said the Americans are getting more protectionist so we should be part of a protectionist bloc with them.

Maclean's: Would you be prepared to bring the terms of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment to the House of Commons for a debate at some point?

Chrétien: We can debate that any time in Parliament. We're the biggest trading nation in the world per capita so we have to be part of that system, otherwise we're excluded.

If a treaty is agreed upon, usually we go to the House of Commons and we vote, but we're not there yet.

Maclean's: There's an assertion that you broke deals with the provinces when you sent to Kyoto, Japan, and signed an environmental agreement that had different terms from what they expected.

Chrétien: No, they said, "You have flexibility." And I said to them, "Don't worry, we will not put you in a position where it would be tougher than the Americans to achieve the goal. I think we've done quite well. The commitment we will not put you in a worse position to compete with the Americans." **Maclean's:** Does the Nov. 5, 1995, event on oil affect you?

Chrétien: No, except that now I have more security. It did bother my wife for a while. For weeks, she would wake up at 3 o'clock in the morning. But for me, no—in a job like this there are risks. It's part of the territory. I guess.

Maclean's: Being a leader often means people to age more quickly, and noticeably. Do you feel any difference in your energy level than four years ago?

Chrétien: No, I feel pretty good physically. I still run the stairs going to the office. I swim and I play golf. I said, "I don't have all my hair, but I'm 63 and my hair, it's not all grey. And look, I'm still the same weight. Hallelujah!"

ly. I gained a few pounds when I arrived here because the food was a bit too good and the drinks were a bit too easy to get. The worst, and I wish I had to eat these things.

Maclean's: Do you seek out all the crumbies?

Chrétien: No. I prefer two, three times a week. Last Sunday, it was damn cold, but the night before, my wife read to me that when you feel that you're good to do something, it's time to do it. So I woke up in the morning and I knew it was cold. I said, "I'm going alone. I think it's time for a good night's sleep to go to sleep this morning"—and guess, it was cold. But I feel in good shape.

Maclean's: What do your siblings think about having a brother as Prime Minister?

Chrétien: Well, they like it. They're worried a bit. They watch the news more than I and they get more upset than I am with my guys. But they are happy and proud of it.

Maclean's: How long do you expect to keep this house, this man?

Chrétien: The house—it's the Belling in a hotel here. There's a lot of official duties, we all dream of having servants, but when you have them, you sometimes don't want to see them. We like our privacy. So we go to Harrington Lake. We don't have staff any more at Harrington Lake. We cancelled the staff there. I've been elected for five years and I intend to serve my term, and at the end of it I will decide what is needed for me. I never told my dad or mom or cousin I would be prime minister so I have no constraints to compete with the Americans.

Maclean's: But aren't you like the prime minister since the millennium count?

Chrétien: That will be prime minister until I get sick. The millennium is in two years away and I have a mandate of four years.

Maclean's: There's some feeling that you might go before that.

Chrétien: No, you don't go and ask the people to vote for you and quit right after. I would have quit. We're in a very good political situation and I would lead a solid party and so I intend to deliver what I said I was to deliver. And now the millennium is coming, but not only that, I am the first prime minister 40 years who has to deal with this problem of the fiscal surplus. So let me enjoy it a little. ☺



Year of Loss

The global grief over Diana defined 1997—and her time

Somehow, the world seemed different after it happened. Diana, Princess of Wales, was dead in a horrible car crash in Paris. Not since the 1963 assassination of John F. Kennedy had so many people around the globe joined in such a spontaneous outpouring of grief. For more than a week, millions immersed themselves in the intimate details of her brief 36 years, her loves and the awful circumstances of her death. Young people who viewed her wedding with their parents now watched in sorrow. As the stiff-upper-lip royal family soon discovered, public emotion was required. Diana had truly become the people's princess.

Diana visited peacekeeping troops in Bosnia and headed a bus on land mines. Her support boosted a historic anti-mine treaty signed in Ottawa.

PHOTO: GREGG DEGUZMAN



IMAGES '97

■ The Queen and Prince Philip surveyed the public's sea of flowers outside Kensington Palace, where Diana lived. Criticized for coldness, the Queen finally gave a TV tribute to Diana and later promised change in the monarchy.

■ Paris police examined the Mercedes in which Diana, boyfriend Dodi Al Fayed and their drunk driver died. A bodyguard survived, but could not remember any details. Though photographers chased the fast-moving car, authorities say alcohol was the real cause of the crash.



■ Diana's brother, Earl Spencer, her sons, Princes William and Harry, and her ex-husband, Prince Charles, watched somberly as her cadet was driven from the funeral at Westminster Abbey. Spencer gave an electric speech at the service, directly criticizing the Queen's treatment of his sister. Applause rippled forward from the crowd outside to the throng within.



PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD

■ A man in the Winnipeg suburb of Ritchot took refuge on his roof from the raging Red River as Manitobans battled the flood of the century. Some 8,500 Canadian Forces personnel helped desperate residents sandbag their homes. Winnipeg was spared, but many rural people were angry that the water was diverted in their direction. More than 25,000 fled to safer ground. Nearly 1,000 in Ritchot alone were still out of their homes as the year closed.



PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD

■ Reform Leader Preston Manning had reason to be gleeful after his party's showing in the June 2 election. The onetime fringe western movement overtook the Bloc Québécois to become the official Opposition. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's Liberals had to make do with a bare four-seat majority.



PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD

Canada's Story

It was a year of dramatic ups and downs for Canadians. Bre-X stock soared before crashing after a massive fraud. The rising waters of the Red River threatened Winnipeg. And voters elevated Preston Manning to leader of the Opposition, knocking the Bloc off.

■ A vendor in Toronto's Bay Street financial canyon sold worthless Bre-X shares as a novelty item, putting a light spin on a dark saga. Thousands of Canadian share holders had trusted the views of financial analysts that Calgary's Bre-X controlled the largest gold mine in the world. After weeks of investigation, the supposed find in Indonesia turned out to be the biggest hoax in Canadian history. Nobody could say for sure whether Filipino geologist Michael de Guzman had jumped or was pushed out of a helicopter over the Borneo jungle. But experts believe he was behind a massive selling of gold samples that ultimately tarnished Canada's image among global investors.



Ontario teachers held a giant rally at the Ontario legislature after 136,000 walked off the job to protest a bill handing the government more control over schools. The largest teachers' strike in Canadian history also focused anger against Premier Mike Harris's budget cuts. Teachers reluctantly returned two weeks later; their demands weren't met, and the contentious bill passed.

Tears and Rage

Tragedy and conflict seared the landscape. A horrific Quebec bus crash left a small town in mourning. Union leaders had hard questions about a fatal train derailment in Saskatchewan. Labor's voice was increasingly loud. In Ontario, more than two million students lost two weeks of school as teachers confronted the Mike Harris government.

The twisted wreckage of a Via Rail transcontinental train lay sprawled across the Prairie outside Biggar, Sask. One woman died and 65 people were injured in Canada's worst train accident in 11 years. A broken locomotive axle caused the tragedy. But railway union leaders, citing lax inspections, said safety had been compromised by years of cutbacks and downsizing. To some, it was only too fitting that the train is called The Canadian.



In St-Jerome, Que., a right-swerving bus filled with skaters on a Thanksgiving outing plunged into a river, killing 43 people. Grief was mixed with anger for residents of the closely knit town of 2,100. Many had lobbied for a dangerous curve to be straightened after a similar accident in 1974 killed 13 people.

Atlantic Pride

There were big celebrations Down East. Hibernia oil began flowing off Newfoundland, the good ship Matthew re-created John Cabot's arrival 500 years ago, and Prince Edward Island finally got connected with the rest of the country.

■ The long-debated Confederation Bridge linked Prince Edward Island to New Brunswick, bringing an end to a year-round ferry service that had moved people to and from the island for 88 years. Not every bridge crossing was smooth, however: as winter set in, high winds caused delays for trucks.

■ In Bull Arm, Nfld., a delicately choreographed mid-water dance joined the two pieces of a hulking \$5.8-billion oil platform before it was towed to its drilling site off the Grand Banks. Hailed as an engineering marvel, the Hibernia rig was expected to pump more than 600 million barrels of oil over two decades.



■ Continued celebrations greeted the 50-tonne Matthew when it landed at Bonaville as part of Newfoundland's year-long, \$20-million commemoration of Italian explorer John Cabot's voyage in 1497. Queen Elizabeth II joined the festivities, even as Norwegians debated whether Cabot really landed at Bonaville or, as many Nova Scotians insist, at the northern tip of Cape Breton Island.

Champions and Chumps

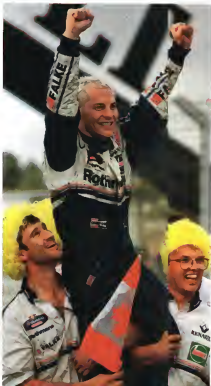
IMAGES '97

Record-breaking performances are almost as commonplace in sports as million-dollar salaries, but a few athletes still made big news in 1997. It was a year when Tiger gave the still-too-white world of golf some stripes, when a match race became a war of words, and when Iron Mike gave boxing—and himself—yet another black eye. For Canadians Jacques Villeneuve and Elvis Stojko, meanwhile, it was a year with a good view—from the top.

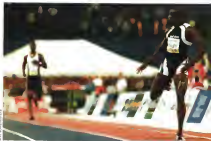
■ Jacques Villeneuve (right) got a delighted boost from his teammates after winning the Formula One championship. The 26-year-old from St. Jean-sur-Richelieu, Que., best German rival Michael Schumacher on points after a dramatic final Grand Prix in Spain.



■ In a heavyweight title fight with Evander Holyfield, Mike Tyson (above left) bit a chunk out of Holyfield's right ear. Horrified officials awarded the title to Holyfield and slapped Tyson with a one-year ban.



■ In the most-hyped footrace since the 1996 Olympics, Canada's Donovan Bailey routed American Michael Johnson over 100 m in Toronto. But Bailey (far right) lost some local support when he called the injured Johnson a "chicken." At the world championships later, Bailey lost his 100-m crown while Johnson won the 200-m title.



■ Tiger Woods caused a sensation when he took the Masters golf championship in Augusta, Ga., just 21 and less than a year into his professional career; he was also the first nonwhite to win.

■ Skater Elvis Stojko landed the first quadruple combination jump ever in competition. He used it to seal his third world championship in Switzerland and made himself the man to beat at next February's Winter Olympics.

States of Change

Three very different places were transformed by cataclysmic events. Hong Kong returned to Chinese rule amid dire predictions but little evident doom. Zaïre became the Congo again after Laurent Kabila's revolutionaries took Kinshasa. And an angry volcano turned the tiny Caribbean island of Montserrat into a no-go zone, deserted by nearly two-thirds of its people.

Amid stunning fireworks, Britain returned Hong Kong to China after 154 years of colonial rule. Business people pronounced themselves satisfied with life in the wealthy new Special Administrative Region. But political activists were unhappy about curbs on democracy.

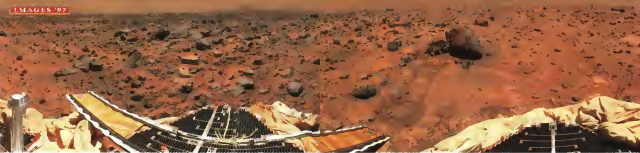


Spewing ash and dust, a volcano buried 19 people on British-run Montserrat and made most of the island uninhabitable. Only about 4,000 of its 11,800 people remained in the anytime Caribbean paradise.



In eastern Zaïre, a Rwandan Hutu refugee lay by the road, too weak to walk. The United Nations probed charges that thousands of Hutus were slaughtered by Laurent Kabila's rebels during their successful eight-month drive to overthrow strongman Mobutu Sese Soko.





■ Shows in a 360° panorama, the toaster-sized Sojourner, NASA's roving photographer on Mars, investigated a boulder scientists dubbed Yogi. The solar-powered robot, controlled from a distance of 193 million kilometres, made history as the first craft from Earth to traverse the surface of the red planet. The data from the Pathfinder mission indicated that rusted iron in the topsoil gives the planet its characteristic red hue. Mars, the experts said, has more in common with Earth's landscape than does the moon.

The New Frontiers

The universe proved large enough to contain the sublime and the ridiculous. Scientists marvelled at photos sent back from Mars by the Pathfinder mission, but gremlins apparently were in command of the Mir space station. The wonders of science never ceased. Fertility drugs helped an Iowa mother give birth to septuplets, while a cloned sheep named Dolly had no parents at all.

■ A Russian cosmonaut in a full space suit practised under water for a mission to repair the Mir space station. Plagued by mishaps, the 11-year-old station was hit by a supply ship and lost half its power. But Russian and U.S. space officials insisted that it was safe.



■ Kenneth McCaughey lay in an incubator near his three brothers and three sisters. His Alberta-born mother, Bobbi, and father Kenny were showered with gifts after Bobbi gave birth in Iowa to the world's only living septuplets. But critics questioned the growing use of fertility drugs.

■ Dolly, a seven-month-old Scottish sheep, sniffed at the media as scientists reported the first successful cloning of a mammal. Created from the cell of another female, Dolly was born with an identical genetic makeup. Her creators believe the process could succeed in humans.





■ Peruvian commandos stormed the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima, freeing 72 hostages and killing all 14 terrorists. The rescuers built a secret tunnel beneath the embassy and used ear-dropping devices to choose the best moment to attack. President Alberto Fujimori claimed a victory for his no-compromise policy on terror.

In the Grip of Fear

Old-style terror seemed on its last legs. Guerrillas held hostages in Peru for five months, but the captives were freed in a high-tech commando raid. Terror wrought by chaos was something else. Many Albanians tried to flee as lawless armed bands took over in an uprising.

■ Albanians crowded onto ships, desperate to escape a chaotic rebellion sparked when many citizens lost their life savings in pyramid investment schemes. When calm returned, voters dumped President Sali Berisha.



A Dash of Spice

Céline, Shania and those Girls were hot—and reaction to Ellen was even hotter



■ The Spice Girls, joining Prince Charles at a charity benefit in May, became Britain's fab five with a girl-power image aimed at teenage mall-goers on both sides of the Atlantic. Their album *Spice* was the year's biggest-seller in the United States.

■ Pop diva Shania Twain and Céline Dion (right) took to the podium in Hamilton to accept a special Juno Award for international achievement, shared with rocker Alanis Morissette. Dion won two Grammy Awards, including album of the year for her huge-selling *Falling into You*.



■ Comedian Ellen DeGeneres (above right) made television history when her namesake sitcom character came out of the closet as a lesbian. So did DeGeneres, who revealed that her lover was screen Anne Heche (left). Publicity about the controversial episode cost ratings soaring that night. The show still does better than it did when Ellen's sexuality was merely a matter of speculation.

Powerful Legacies

The people of the world mourned Mother Teresa for her selfless dedication to the poor and for shining a light on a better path. Deng Xiaoping reshaped modern China. And murdered designer Gianni Versace shook up fashion.

■ To the millions who mourned her passing at 87, Mother Teresa was a living saint. Born in an Albanian village as Agnes Gonxhe Bojaxhi, the nun ran built her Calcutta-based Missionaries of Charity into an international order aiding the poorest of the poor in more than 100 countries. She won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1979. Her adopted country, where she was a naturalized citizen, gave her a signal honor: her funeral casket was carried on the same gun carriage used for India's founders, Gandhi and Nehru.



And Farewell:

James Stewart, 89, falley star of such revered films as *It's a Wonderful Life*
Robert Mitchum, 78, hard-living screen tough guy
Jacques Cousteau, 87, French oceanographer and film-maker
Gordon Lightfoot, 78, Quebec drinker and Trudeau-era cabinet minister
Allen Ginsberg, 70, Beat poet and counterculture guru
James Michener, 90, author of such popular epics as *Hawaii*
John Denver, 53, outdoorsy pop balladeer
Jack Pickens, 92, longtime Liberal cabinet minister and adviser
John Sapinski, 64, rights-conscious Supreme Court justice

Ben Hogan, 84, golfing legend
Burgess Meredith, 89, screen actor known for serious roles and *Batman's* Penguin
Red Skelton, 84, beaky-browed television comedian
Stanley Knowles, 68, longtime NDP MP
Clyde Gilmour, 85, CBC broadcaster
William S. Burroughs, 83, controversial author of *Naked Lunch*
Sir George Solti, 84, British conductor
Ray Lichtenstein, 73, pop art pioneer
Sir Isaiah Berlin, 88, British philosopher
Michael Masley, 72, former Jamaican prime minister
Mobutu Sese Seko, 66, ousted dictator of Zaire
Evans Cooley, 27, murdered son of comedian Bill Cooley

■ Zhou Lin, widow of Deng Xiaoping, tearfully embraced his body after he died at 92. Hailed as a giant of the century, the diminutive Deng led China into the global market economy. To many, his legacy was stained by his repression of human rights, which included ordering the 1989 crackdown on pro-democracy activists at Tiananmen Square. Yet China under Deng was far more open—both to investment and to ideas—than at any other time since the 1949 Communist takeover.



■ Designer Gianni Versace, who spawned the era of super-models like Naomi Campbell (left), was shot dead in Miami's glitzy South Beach. Suspect Andrew Cunanan, a gay pipsqueak, later killed himself, and the motive remained a mystery.

Aboriginal expectations

BY JOHN DeMONT
and
JOHN GEDES

She remembers hunting for Indian arrowheads in the fields of her family's 150-year-old northwestern Ontario farm. She can still taste the corn soup served when she tagged along with her politician father on his visits to the nearby Six Nations reserve. Even today, a sense of wonder comes into Indian Affairs Minister Jean Stewart's voice as she recalls the occasional music and swirl of color of the reserve's annual Indian pageant. "I can remember sitting there under the stars and watching the dancing," she told *Maclean's* last week. "These are the memories of a small child."

And this is the grain reality Stewart faces today as she tackles what could be the toughest job in the federal cabinet: native communities plagued by suicide, hardened with drug and alcohol addiction, and struggling with chronic unemployment and runaway population growth. "The statistics," she laments, "are just unacceptable." If Stewart is to help turn those disturbing numbers around, the reversal must begin on Jan. 7 with her anonymously crafted response to the landmark 506-paragraph Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Expectations are high: the commission's report recommended everything from revamping the welfare system to settling existing land-claims negotiations. "Her legacy will be in how the government responds to the report," maintains Phil Fontaine, grand chief of the Assembly of First Nations, which represents 400 different native groups.

Summing those expectations will be a tall order. The report, released a year ago, called for massive spending—an extra \$25 billion a year for 10 years—on meeting ambitious goals. But a senior Liberal official told *Maclean's* that Stewart can expect only a two- to three-per-cent hike next year in her department's \$4.4 billion budget. And the department is so tight on money that the expectations in that may be to native leaders, some are even more sensitive to the federal government's failure to respond to the bitter legacy of the residential schools in which many native children were physically and sexually abused. Although Stewart is also expected to address that question on Jan. 7, she has so far treaded cautiously—refusing



**Ottawa hopes
to right some
of history's
many wrongs**

to say in an interview whether she plans to issue an unequivocal apology. "It's very important that we get it right," she says. "The choices that we make in trying to understand what they need to be able to deal with their experiences at residential schools are very complex."

Such complexities have bedeviled promising federal politicians before. But Stewart has taken the job at a time when there is unusual optimism about real progress on aboriginal issues. For starters, she faces at the top her changed mood of the open season that

Fontaine and Stewart see faces and fresh optimism about solving complex problems

existed between her predecessor, Ron Irwin, and former Assembly of First Nations national chief Ovide Mercredi. Stewart and Fontaine, who defied Mercredi for the electic position earlier this year, seem to share a personal rapport along with a common belief in leadership philosophy.

Public sympathy is behind her as well—at least, that is the conclusion she draws from the government's own polling. Stewart

also finds an increased willingness in corporations Canada to boost native economic prospects. And a trail of at least 100,000 signatures, Stewart has a blueprint for change in the form of the 440 recommendations contained in the royal commission's massive 3,537-page report. "The stars are aligned for something historic to happen here," points out a high-ranking aide to Prime Minister Jean Chretien.

According to reports last week, Ottawa is planning to invest more than \$200 million in native healing centres as part of its response to the report. But if Stewart seizes a historic opportunity, she is careful to stay anchored in down-to-earth realities. After two decades of abstract wrangling over the constitutional status of rudimentary self-government, she wants to steer the debate towards the hard facts of aboriginal life: unemployment still runs at twice the national level; the suicide rate for Indians remains more than three times the Canadian rate; Indians are six times as likely to be murdered as other Canadians. "The rights issues are very significant, but fundamentally the real issues are about how you change the lives of aboriginal people on a tangible way," Stewart declares.

That kind of pragmatism is part of her political heritage. She is, after all, the daughter of Robert Nixon, the former Ontario Liberal leader and, later, treasurer under premier David Peterson. Her grandfather was Harry Nixon, who served briefly as Ontario premier in 1943. The family's ancestral home near St. George, Ont., where Stewart now lives with her husband, Ian, when she is not in Ottawa, has been the setting for three generations of left-leaning political debates. It was at the nearby brick cottage where her father now lives, though, that Stewart first discussed her own mission for taking on the Indian Affairs portfolio after last spring's federal election. Robert Nixon also liked the idea, although Stewart's political staffers were skeptical.

Her love-on-the-bare political sensibility had quickly set Stewart apart after she took over as human resources consultant and won her riding of Brant in the 1993 election.

And she, who served as caucus chairwoman—an enviable role for a backbencher, rookie MP—because it gave her the rare opportunity to meet weekly with Chretien. Vaunted his cabinet as reform minister in 1986, Stewart performed unexpectedly. And an ambitious plan to overhaul the department into a kind of independent tax collection agency—revisions to be finished under the new minister, Herb Matthews.

But holding a post that demanded competence over flamboyance helped solidify her status as more than a promising up-and-comer. "Before me, didn't give you much of a chance to shine," says Liberal

adviser Richard Mahoney, a former president of the party's Ontario wing. "She proved that she can be tough and hard-nosed. Indians and Northern Affairs will present a bigger challenge to her."

That challenge may intensify on Jan. 7. The royal commission's final report included a 55-page chapter on the residential school issue, and Stewart's own officials have an apology—or something close to it—well set in stone. But the department's relations with native people. "You've got to get the dirt out of there in order to heal the wound," explains one aide. Stewart knows all about the need for healing. In just the months on the job, she has heard many tragic stories—of children taken from their parents and communities in the 1950s under the guise of the federal government only to suffer sexual and physical abuse in surroundings where their language and culture were suppressed. "There aren't too many places in Canada that I can go and not hear stories about how residential schools have impacted the lives, not only of people who have gone before, but people who are here today," Stewart says. "People like Phil Fontaine."

Fontaine, an Ojibwa who attended residential school in Manitoba, says he "wants and expects an apology"—like most Indians who suffered mistreatment within the same system. That could pose a problem in an apology might weaken Ottawa's defence in some 200 land claims seeking compensation for residential school abuse. Stewart—despite her expressed wish to synthesize—wishes to be pleased down, and secure much more at once discussing the day-to-day problems facing many aboriginals. She welcomes the report's recommendation for setting up an independent commission to speed up the settling of a backlog of several hundred native land claims. Before that, however, she has already had the 5700-mile-a-way as federal social assistance program for reserves. Even then, she insists being drawn into outlining her own prescriptions in detail. "We don't govern people by telling them what to do," she says. "You govern by listening and trying to find solutions."

Of course, solutions—like all Canadian—have heard talk of solutions before. But the pressure is getting greater. As if the personal problems of poverty and hopelessness were not already bad enough, bearing a sizeable population—the aboriginal population is expected to grow by 35 per cent in the next 30 years, from 811,000 to over one million—increases the capacity of communities and governments to cope. For Stewart, the Jan. 7 response to the royal commission meets the start of her attempt to get ahead of that ominous demographic wave. More than that, it is her chance to convert an empty room in childhood into political action. □

Manning keeps up the pressure

For Reform party leader Preston Manning, 1997 was a year of triumph. In the June 2 federal election, he led his party to victory in 60 ridings—and to official opposition status in the House of Commons. His critics, however, were impaled by disappointment: Reform failed to win a single seat in Central and Eastern Canada. Now excommunicated in Stornoway, the Opposition leader's residence, Manning stays in Mackenzie's Office-in-Chief Robert Loein and National Affairs Coordinator Anthony Wilson-Smith about his challenges ahead, both for the Reform party and the country as a whole. Excerpts:

Mackenzie: The Liberals have taken a tougher approach to crime and the national unity issue and paid more attention to the debt and deficit. All of those reflect Reform positions. Do you feel like the NDP in the 1970s, when the Liberals were playing their major cards out from under them?

Manning: I suppose there's a danger of that happening. The Liberals tend to steal the words and a little bit of the substance, but they never go far enough, fast enough, to really represent what we've been talking about. We think we've got at least two things in our platform, or maybe three, that if the Liberals try to swallow they'll choke.

Mackenzie: Which are those?

Manning: The first is one: The Liberal's instinctive desire is to spend. They'll bluster around with tax relief but I don't think they'll go anywhere near as far as the public wants. Another one is the principle of equality of citizens and provinces rather than special entitlements based on your race or culture and language. If the Liberals start trying to steal that, they tend to blow their Quebec wing out of the party and all this collection of interest groups they've built up around multicultural policies. The third one is this desire the democratic bottom-up decision-making, better voting in Parliament, letting the public in on more before the decision. The Liberal party is held together by top-down discipline grafted with patronage, and if you ever took that away from them I don't think they could hold their group in the House together for a week.

Mackenzie: Are they on the right track now on the Quebec issue?

Manning: No. They've finally picked up on this Plan B stuff [pledging to discuss the potentially negative impact of sovereignty]. We were in that 18 months before the last referendum, and we're pleased because we think it's going to help the vote in the next referendum. But they're completely neglecting the Plan A part, and you've got to keep them both in balance. Plan A, the positive position that's got potential for being sold both in Quebec and outside of Quebec, is this rebalancing of the powers. We've been on that for a long time. Our data show that talking about rebalancing the powers has more impact on those swing voters in a referendum, the soft sovereign-

ists and discontented federalists, than any of the symbolic stuff—either distinct society or the unique character of Quebec.

Mackenzie: Is your home province of Alberta, the legislature unanimously supported the Calgary declaration? What is your position on that?

Manning: The most important thing about the Calgary declaration was that commentators to consult with people at the front end rather than halfway through or at the end. So we certainly supported the consultative aspect of it. The important is that we are particularly attuned to are the issues of equality of citizens and provinces. And it's got this recognition of the unique character of Quebec. But the interesting thing is that it ties the two together and says that whatever anybody gets to develop their uniqueness is available to all the provinces, which is the way to handle that.

Mackenzie: How do you feel about your prospects for expanding your support beyond the West?

Manning: The big thing that encourages us is we got a big win in Ontario [in the June 2 election]—600,000 votes. The difference between it and 1992 is that our vote in 1992 was a lot more positive. In 1992, everyone was mad at somebody and just poked up Reform's stick to beat people over the head. We are disappointed we didn't get seats. We came within 500 votes in one place and 100,000 votes is a lot of votes, a lot more than we got in Alberta, but it wasn't concentrated enough to win seats.

Mackenzie: What do you expect will happen in June. Charrot's Conservative party on the course of this mandate?

Manning: Their behaviour in the House has been fairly curious. Mr. Charrot seems to have a lot of an anxiety towards me and to Reform. I'm not sure if that's what's driving their voting behaviour, but as they're voting with the government more often than the NDP.

Mackenzie: There seems to be a little animosity going the other way as well.

Manning: I guess there's a little that way too. But Charrot turns around and calls our guys bogots all the time. Of course this gets him in real odd a while. But I don't know how long the federal Tories can keep voting with the Liberals without adding credit to this idea that what ought to happen to sort all this out is that the Red Tories should go with the Liberals. If they are Liberals and call themselves Liberals. The Blue Tories should come to us. We've got a mini campaign going on this united alternative to the Liberals in Ontario. And if Charrot can make a major positive contribution by going to Quebec and meeting for the Liberals there, then he ought to do that as everyone would be happy.



The Opposition leader faults the Liberals on national unity, taxes, spending and the debt

Mackenzie: Did you ever imagine you would sit at a day as you have already, where you would stand up in the House and defend former prime minister Brian Mulroney?

Manning: No. But we still think there's something really strange about this whole Brian thing. It goes beyond Mulroney—this principle of being innocent until proven guilty. The idea of the police department ever being used to pursue a political agenda is a fairly scary prospect. I think this does call for demanding explanations and accountability, even if Mulroney is the guy that triggered it.

Mackenzie: The Prime Minister is about to find another Team Canada trade mission, this time to Latin America. Are firms anxious to go along?

Manning: I don't think they're particularly effective. One of the functions that governments do not do well in marketing. You don't see the Germans or the Japanese or the Americans running around on this type of trade mission. The big world traders and the most effective ones tend to let their private sector carry the ball mostly and the government plays a more supportive role.

Mackenzie: Given some of the Liberal's flip-flops, such as the Goods and Services Tax, why don't we see, in your view, stick to the government?

Manning: I think a lot more sticks than is apparent. For the last four years, the government was up at this 60 to 65 per cent approval rating—and then as soon as we got into a full-blown electoral contest, they came down to a score 20 points. And groups like ours that were supposed to be as neutral as a major centrist went up considerably. I think what that's telling you is that in between elections, Canadians are just prepared to put their votes with whatever seems to be most convenient, which is usually the governing party. When it gets into an electoral contest, that so-called Liberal support is soft as can be.

Mackenzie: Do you have any kind of timetable for how long you will stay in politics?

Manning: I think it's governed by whether you think you can still do it. Our motto under the most, but this number leads every 18 months. I'm quite content to leave that in the hands of the members.

Mackenzie: What is your personal feeling about the state of the country?

Manning: I think it's got some huge problems. Despite the progress we've made on the fiscal side, we've still got 1.4 trillion out of work, two to three trillion underemployed and a very high youth unemployment level. Despite the progress on the deficit, the debt is so high we've got almost eating the heart out of the funding of social programs. So if people ask you honestly, is the funding for medicine, social assistance or pension secure, the honest answer is no. That's a huge worry in terms of security—and we still have this unity thing. But the problems are not insoluble. On balance, I'm actually optimistic about the future. If you put these things in context, Canada has got problems but we've got resources to cope with them. And when I look at a lot of the other countries of the world, I couldn't think of any place where I'd rather be. □



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CANADA

The unsafe skies?

A near disaster triggers alarm over air safety

Like thousands of other Canadians last week, Krista Kitchen was headed home for the holidays. Flying into Fredericton from Toronto aboard Air Canada Flight 695, the 29-year-old University of Western Ontario student was looking forward to Christmas with family and friends. But shortly before midnight on Dec. 19, the plane descended through dense fog at Fredericton airport. Kitchen heard a loud bang, then felt the plane sway violently side-to-side. Suddenly, the cabin lights went out, plunging her and 38 other passengers into a terrifying darkness. In the next few seconds, the commuter jet skidded off the runway, plowing through snow and chipping trees before coming to a shuddering halt in a wooded area near the airstrip. Miraculously, none of the passengers or crew was killed, and none, including Kitchen, were able to slide to safety down the wings of the plane into knee-deep snow. "I'm very grateful to be alive," said Kitchen the day after her ordeal. "It could have been so much worse."

That view was echoed by Joe Jackson, lead investigator of a 15-member Transportation Safety Board team. After his first look at the mostly intact jet—including the eerie sight of a fire truck sticking out of the top of the fuselage near the front of the plane—Jackson told reporters, "We were just a smidge away from having 40 people dead." At a time of year when air traffic is at its peak, the images of such a narrowly averted tragedy were disturbing enough. But even more troubling was that the crash—followed two days later by the Dec. 17 similar collision of two Cessna aircraft near Montserrat, Que., that left four dead, and the Dec. 9 crash of a twin-engine Embraer in Little Grand Rapids, Man., that killed four others. The accidents, all at airports bereft of air traffic controllers, left many asking how safe Canada's skies are.

In the wake of the Fredericton crash, federal Transportation Minister David Col-

bourne sought to allay fears. "I want to confirm to Canadians that we have one of the safest air traffic systems in the world," he said. His department later released statistics showing that the accident rate had steadily declined over the past decade, to 8.9 per 100,000 hours flown in 1996 from 14.1 per



The Fredericton crash site. Ottawa sought to allay public fears

100,000 in 1987. But critics charged that Ottawa's determination to pare costs through deregulation and privatization of the air industry is putting lives at risk. In particular, the series of accidents brought renewed attention to a 1995 decision by Transport Canada to transfer federal control of the air traffic control system to a nonprofit corporation, New Canada—a move designed to save

Ottawa more than \$200 million a year. Said David Goodbury, president of the Transport 2000 lobby group: "You have to wonder whether we've cut too much."

Air Canada came in for its own share of criticism the day after the crash when it pointed over its logo on the Bombardier-built Canadair Regional jet. A spokeswoman for the airline explained that removing the logo was standard practice after a crash. "The aircraft no longer belongs to Air Canada, it is now in the possession of the insurance underwriter."

Ottawa's dovetailing efforts have included a move to replace air traffic control towers at smaller airports—including Fredericton's—with cheaper flight servicing stations. New Can spokesmen stressed that the flight services specialist on duty provided Air Canada 695 with the same information about runway and weather conditions as an air traffic controller would at a larger airport. In either case, it is up to the pilot to make the final call on whether to land. Investigators and last week to the pilot, Donald MacFarlane, intended to land, but changed his mind at the last moment. As he tried to abort, the plane's right wing hit the runway.

It took emergency crews about 20 minutes to reach the crash site—about one kilometre from the terminal—in response time that Transport Canada says was reasonable given the snow fog and darkness. But for the passengers—some of whom began to walk towards the terminal before the rescue team arrived while others huddled in the woods—it seemed like an eternity. Kitchen recalls that there was a small jet fuel tank, prompting fears the plane might explode. She could also hear cries from inside the plane, where at least six people remained pinned under seats and debris.

It took until 9:30 a.m. to free the last of the passengers. In all, 35 people were treated for injuries ranging from broken limbs to cuts and bruises. At week's end, nine remained in hospital. Montserrat, Air Canada offered all passengers \$10,000 for their "inconvenience"—a move some lawyers saw as an attempt to ward off lawsuits. As traumatic as the experience had been, for most of the survivors last week was also a time to count blessings. Said Kitchen: "At this point, you have to move forward."

BARBARA HERRMANN is a Kitchener writer. AMY CAMERON is in Fredericton.



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Canada NOTES

CLOSE TO A DECISION?

The federal cabinet failed to reach a decision in the purchase of 15 new search-and-rescue helicopters for the Canadian Forces. But Prime Minister Jean Chrétien hinted that his government may be prepared to purchase Comanches—and risk political embarrassment. In 1993, Chrétien cancelled the previous Tory government's plan to buy 50 EH-60s, a slightly more advanced version of the Commanch.

SOBRIETY FOR WESTRAY

Novel Books apologized for the 1982 Westray explosion, which killed 26 coal miners, and agreed to implement all 74 recommendations in the report, released Dec. 1 of the public inquiry into the disaster. It also fired two government mine inspectors—but refused to accept liability for the deaths.

LATIMER APPEAL

Saskatchewan former Robert Latimer was released on bail after launching an appeal of his second-degree murder conviction and sentence for the 1986 murder of his severely disabled daughter, Tracy. The conviction carries a minimum 10-year sentence, but Latimer received two years under a controversial exemption. His lawyer, though, said even that was too heavy. Earlier in the week, the Crown also said it would appeal, on the grounds that the exemption was unprecedented.

CPP HIKES APPROVED

Tory senators ended their stalling tactics and allowed the Senate to approve legislation that will increase Canada Pension Plan payroll deductions. The measure was broken after Pension Minister Paul Martin agreed to further consultations on how the fund will be reformed. CPP contribution rates are to climb to 5.8 per cent of an employee's salary by 2003. The current rate is 5.65 per cent. The first of the phased-in hikes takes effect Jan. 1.

NEW BRUNSWICK ANGER

New Brunswick Court of Queen's Bench Justice Hugh McLean sentenced Helen Brewer, 35, and Isaac Jones, 25, to three years and nine months in jail for the 1996 deaths of their two-year-old daughter, Jacqueline. Experts testified that the girl died of dehydration caused by neglect. Overpaid family and local residents said the sentence was too lenient.



WILD FIRES:

High winds and tinder-dry conditions brought on by an unusual lack of snow complicated attempts to combat more than a dozen grass and forest fires in Alberta. One blaze near Graven, 130 km south of Calgary, forced the town's 350 residents to flee, and destroyed six homes, 1,600 km of fencing, about 200 square kilometres of grassland and an undetermined number of cattle. Frieda Kasser, 66, the lone person to be hurt, suffered third-degree burns as she fled her farmhouse (above). At week's end, Kasser was in serious but stable condition. "The hardest part," said her son, Philip, "will be telling her how much we love."

Hockey denial

LOUTHOUSE WOMAN'S hockey star Angela Jones admits she was angry when she was released by Canada's Olympic team on Dec. 9. But Jones, 32, emphatically denies responsibility for the controversy that enveloped the squad last week. After the winger met with Canadian Hockey president Murray Cawinkel and vice-president Bob Nicholson, the Calgary Star reported a rumor that Jones had told the athletes an employee of the team was involved romantically with a player and that the relationship—which contravenes Canadian Hockey rules—may have affected how the roster was chosen. In the ensuing uproar, head coach Stan Bowman and she knew nothing

of an inappropriate affair. She testified that Jones had been out for poor defensive play, and called the player's alleged claim "sour grapes."

Nicholson, however, says Jones made no such allegation. The topic of an inappropriate relationship did come up, he told Maclean's, but not the charge that the latter had affected the roster. "Those allegations," Nicholson said, "are coming from somewhere else, outside the team." Jones says she asked for the meeting only because she felt Kasser did not give her a reasonable explanation for her dismissal. She had 11 points in 13 exhibition games this fall, and "statistics don't lie," she said. But she hopes the move stops being a distraction to the team as it prepares for the Nagano Olympics in February. "Right now," she said, "that is the last thing they need."

Targeting a truant

SENATORS voted to strip Andrew Thompson, 31, his red chamber office, telephone and most travel privileges. His secretary will be reassigned. They also warned Thompson, 73, who was named to the Senate in 1982, that he could be found in contempt if he is absent when sittings resume in February; he could

be expelled for the balance of the session and lose his \$75,000-a-year salary package. Since 1990, Thompson has missed more than 90 per cent of Senate sittings. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, meanwhile, said he wishes Thompson would resign. As it stands, it would take a constitutional amendment to remove him permanently. "It's too bad," Chrétien added. "It's a bad apple."

Days of the Jackal

A notorious terrorist goes on trial in Paris

Calvo the Jackal. The legendary name of a fierce, sometimes angry, and elusive terrorist and master hijacker, and of a mysterious figure who left a trail of death across the world in the 1970s and '80s. It's a real name: Elch Ramirez Sanchez, a Venezuelan who as a terrorist-brother may have killed as many as 80 people. He was finally snatched off an airplane en route to Sudan by French agents in August, 1994, and whisked to Paris, where last week he was on trial for the murder of two French secret service agents and a Lebanese informant. Stripped of his mythical aura, the new portly and gray-haired 40-year-old seemed more casual than this frightening. At times spectators whispered in astonishment the court with political motives from him that were second to none. "This is a professional revolution in the old Leninist tradition," he proudly declared the judge. "Our enemy is the enemy of humanity—American imperialism."

From the time the trial opened, Carlos tried to present himself as a dozing rooster. He smiled. He talked. He looked at the West on behalf of oppressed people around the world. Prosecutors, however, said he was little more than a cold-blooded killer who gunned down the three men on a last June night in 1975 as they entered a Paris apartment where Carlos was waiting. He was a cold and greedy of murder in 1980s in 1982 and returned to life in prison. Last week, he was being retried on the same charges. Facing a strong government case, even the Jackal seemed to admit his guilt in an angry exchange with the judge. "What do you think we were doing, being taken in Holland?" he scoffed. "We were fighting a war against the Americans and the G-7."

Carlos offered his revolutionary soul from his father, a wealthy left-wing lawyer in Caracas who acted as his other two sons: Vladimir and Lenin. He spent time in Venezuela, Cuba, and in 1968 fled with a school friend to Moscow's Lenin Lomaxov University—a school famous for training radical Marxists. He was expelled two years later for spending too much time drinking and not enough studying. But while in the university, he befriended a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and in 1970 he joined the group in Beirut. Interviewed just before the trial, Ramon Al-Sheikh, a leading figure in the PFLP, recalled his first meeting with Carlos. "Despite his youth he was a very cool customer,"



Carlos in front of a palm-tree backdrop in 1966, and in younger years (below)—political posters



THE CARLOS FILE

Elch Ramirez Sanchez—the Jackal—has been linked to these terrorist incidents by intelligence experts:

- 1973:** Wounding in London of British politician Edward Sells, a Jew whose family owns the Marks & Spencer retail chain.
- 1974:** Takeover of French Embassy in The Hague by Japanese Red Army militants
- 1975:** Killing of two French agents (one holding attack on Israeli E1 Airlines and murder of a suspected informant)
- 1976:** Attack on OPEC headquarters in Vienna, killing three. Eleven of members are bank hostages and flown to North Africa in a hijacked plane before the guerrillas fire them
- 1982-1983:** Series of bombings in France to demand the release of his imprisoned wife, Magdalene Kopp, in which a total of 12 die
- 1983:** Bomb blast in French cathedral in West Berlin, killing one

said Al-Sheikh, "an angel face, but deadly." The PFLP would soon test his new assets. In 1973, he burst into the London home of Edward Sells, a leading figure in the Jewish community of Great Britain, and shot Sells in the head, wounding him. Carlos soon launched a series of attacks on civilian targets with deadly results. His major success—and the assault that created his reputation as the world's most feared terrorist—occurred late in 1975 at the headquarters of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries in Vienna.

Carlos and four other terrorists raced into the building and took hostages, including Saudi Arabia's ambassador, Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani. When one of the captured men reached for a pistol, Carlos came down. "He started shooting him in the knees and then in the stomach just to kill him," Yamani recalled later. "Then, he killed him with a single bullet."

OPEC agreed to pay Carlos \$20 million to exchange for the hostages, and afterward he vanished. According to intelligence experts, he went to work for various Eastern European governments and eventually settled down in Damascus, where he spent some of the 1980s drinking and womanizing. By the end of the Gulf War in 1991, even the Syrians had tired of their controversial guest and he was forced to move on to Beirut. Then the governments of Sudan, which was trying to convince the West that it was not sponsoring terrorism, later agreed to turn him over to French agents. Since 1994, the Jackal, who acquired the sobriquet after a copy of President Furey's novel *The Day of the Jackal* was found in his London flat, has languished in jail in Paris, working on his court case.

In his often-raging defense last week, Carlos complained bitterly that Victor Ostrovsky, a former secret agent for Israeli Mossad who is now a Canadian, had not been brought forward as a witness. In his *Day of the Jackal*, a 1966 book he wrote with Timothy Goulding, Claire Hiji, Ostrovsky maintained that the Lebanese informant killed in the apartment for Mossad was in fact Carlos himself. Carlos claimed Mossad agents murdered the three men in an attempt to trigger French reprisals against the Palestinian leadership. He also appeared to have been the killing but as French police discovered, Ostrovsky, who until recently lived near Ottawa, has dropped mysteriously from sight. "It's quite bizarre," Hiji told *Mirror*'s "I haven't been able to reach him."

The law was flustered with Carlos. French intelligence plan to charge him with murder for a series of bombings that killed 17 people in France in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Officials in Germany, Israel and Austria also want to question him about murders and bombings in their countries.

Experts familiar with Carlos say his real goal of the trial was to cement his reputation as a true terrorist, rather than a paid hit man. "He leaves me cornered every way," said John Follan, author of a forthcoming book, *The Jackal*. "His efforts are all addressed to the public and the press, to consolidate his revolutionary biography." It will be the final chapter in a bloody, if brief, story.

TOM PENNELL with PHILIP REILAN in Paris

World NOTES

EXPANDEUROPE

European leaders agreed to add 11 new members to the European Union, ending the continent's decade-long debate over west and east. Initially, Estonia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia and Cyprus will be invited to negotiate membership. Later, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Romania and Bulgaria will be added. The EU leaders rejected Turkey's long-standing application on human rights grounds.

TOXIC TELEVISION

Nearly 700 Japanese children were treated for convulsions and nausea after watching a popular television cartoon called Pocket Monster. About 200 were hospitalized. The government was still investigating, but medical experts said bright flashing lights in such cartoons can trigger epilepsy seizures.

RE-ELECTED IN JAMAICA

The People's National Party led by Prime Minister P. J. Patterson won an unprecedented third term in Jamaica's elections. Former U.S. president Jimmy Carter, who led an international observer team appointed because of allegations of widespread election fraud in 1993, said the elections were generally fair. They were also among the most peaceful in a country known for election-related killings.

DEADLY CRASHES

Two separate airline crashes claimed the lives of almost 200 people in one, a Singapore-carrying Airbus A300 Boeing 737—crashed at least 104 people crashed on the Indonesian island of Sumatra. A day earlier, a Russian-built Yakovlev-42, owned by a Ukrainian company, went down in a remote mountain region in northern Greece near the city of Salonika. At least 70 people were on board.

HONG KONG FU

A virus known as "bird flu" killed two residents of Hong Kong and infected six others. Experts said the deadly influenza strain—previously confined to chickens and other birds—can be spread between humans. Fearing a major global outbreak of the disease, the World Health Organization and other agencies urged people to avoid eating Hong Kong to try to contain the flu's spread.



THE HEIR APPARENT: South African President Nelson Mandela (right) meets the sons of Thabo Mbeki, Mandela's newly elected successor, at the annual African National Congress. Mbeki, the 55-year-old Marxist turned fiscal conservative, is expected to become South Africa's president after elections in 1999, when Mandela, 75, has said he will retire. Earlier at the party conference, Mandela's controversial ex-wife, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, declined to be nominated for the deputy presidency. Her standing was devastated by recent testimony that she was involved in torture and murder during the apartheid era.

A dissident wins in South Korea

Longtime dissident Kim Dae-jung narrowly won South Korea's presidential election amid an intense financial crisis. It was the first time an opposition politician had taken the presidency from the business and military elite that has ruled under various party names since the Korean War. Kim, 73, was an outspoken critic of the series of authoritarian who can the first dissident country to win in transition to democracy in 1987. Once elected, he spent two years in exile in the United States. In 1993, he was kidnapped from a Tokyo hotel room in which he was believed to be an assassination bid by Korean intelligence agents. Although he is personally popular, his victory with 40 percent of the vote was largely due to a split in the ruling party.

Kim's longtime support for labor and the

poor had raised concerns that he would seek to enrage the status quo of an \$80-billion budget by the late industrialist Ministry of Finance. He formally takes command of the world's 11th largest economy in February 1998 in a postelection period. Kim promised to implement the package. "Although a tough road lies ahead of us, it is a path we must take," he said. "Given about the Asia-wide financial crisis also being over a decade of the new movement Association of Southeast Asian Nations, joined by outgoing South Korean President Kim Young-Sa and the leaders of Japan and China. Despite \$160 billion in dollars already in place, they said it was "urgent" that industrialized countries provide even more help.

The UN grabs Bosnia war crimes suspects

In a lightning raid, UN peacekeepers arrested two Bosnian Croats accused of war crimes and sent them to The Hague for trial at the United Nations' international tribunal. The pair opened fire in a bid to escape from a house in central Bosnia. One was Vukob Kostic, indicted for a notorious massacre in Srebrenica in which at 345 Muslims, including 33 women and children, were slaughtered on September 1995. The second was a Bosnian Serb soldier in Bosnia's world war indefinitely beyond their original deadline of next June. Escape from other nations in the 34,000-strong NATO-led peacekeeping force are expected to follow the American lead, including Canada's 1,300

DIAMONDS

in the
Rough

BY JENNIFER HUNTER

When Europeans first explored the tundra of the Northwest Territories, 200 km south of the Arctic Circle, they called it the Barren Lands—a place of ice Age debris, granite rock, boulders and thousands of tiny blue lakes filled with glacial runoff. Too far north to support even the hardiest of coals, the ground bears only tufts of sedge and grass and, in the spring, the neon profusion of wild arctic flowers. When winter comes, the land takes on a haunting aspect, as though the sky and rocks have merged into one flat sweep of gray. It is like being on the edge of the Earth. One of the largest lakes in the area, 350 km north-east of Yellowknife, is Lac de Gras. The Dogrib Dece

people call it Ekati, the Flat Lake, because the bits of quartz found on its shores resemble glaucous caribou fat. Surrounding it are the traditional hunting grounds of the Dece and the Inuit, the area where 360,000 caribou pass through each spring and fall. It is home, too, to grizzly bears, wolves and moose.

There are no paved roads to Lac de Gras, but six years ago the ice-crusted land of the Northwest Territories began to swarm with prospectors and geologists in search of diamonds. Not run-of-the-mill industrial diamonds, but carats, eye-popping white diamonds. They found them, and continue to find them. Canadian gems under the ice where the caribou have run for thousands of years. Lac de Gras is fat with them. "This is very much a modern Klondike," says Yellowknife prospector Mike Byers, one of the first fortune-seekers to join the diamond rush in 1991. "We knew the moment we heard the word 'diamonds' that it meant big money."

Not just big money—billions. Starting next October, when Canada's first diamond mine is due to go into production, \$500 million worth of gems will be culled from the ground annually, and that is just from one company. When the next mining company gets permission to cut the ancient granite and peridot, more than \$1 billion worth of rough diamonds will be dug up and sold yearly at an estimated \$100 a carat. These diamonds in the tundra, and they will make Canada one of the world's largest diamond producers, right up there with South Africa and Russia.

Getting those diamonds out of the ground is a story of greed, adventure and political wrangling. Not only do the permafrost and -40°C winter temperatures forbid easy access to the area, but the companies planning to mine the diamonds have been forced to buy the goodwill of aboriginal groups with millions of dollars' worth of education funding and community investment. They have also made promises to the federal and territorial governments about hiring native people, and attempted to satisfy the demands of environmentalists with elaborate plans to restore the land and preserve wildlife. It took three years of negotiations before construction of the first mine could even start. But the companies are doing it all gladly. There is that much money to be made.

The Hawker Suddley 740 jet noses up over Yellowknife Airport on a freezing fall morning, headed for the Ekati diamond site at Lac de Gras. On board is

Adventurous greed marked the search
for precious gems in Canada's North

Digging the speckle mine; heavy costs

Eisa Thomas with rock sample from her company's claim; gems from the Ekati mine site (top); big money

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS FOR ENR; PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS FOR ENR; PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS FOR ENR

The Ekati mine will produce 500 million worth of diamonds every year



BHP Minerals Alquist at the mine with a remote area where winter lasts eight months

BUSINESS

37-year-old Clarence Rubeis, who calls him self an Eskimo, a surprising identification these days among some Inuit and many whites. But Rubeis is an ingenious man who does not have the luxury of being political by career. His home is in Inuvik, 1,200 km north of Yellowknife in the Mackenzie Delta, and he is flying to the Ekati camp to join the mine's construction crew. It will be the first real job for Rubeis, who is already a grandfather. In Inuvik he lived on welfare and spent—by his own admission—too much time playing bingo, during his first to avoid the fate of his brother who had a drinking problem and died in a car accident. A 28-day program offered by the local community college taught Rubeis the basics of mining. "I was tired of living on welfare," explains Rubeis, who has an infectious smile and a gentle manner. "They asked innocent questions."

When the plane arrives at Inuvik later, Rubeis is given an orientation session, then booked into a room at the camp, which can house 750 people. His employment is in keeping with the mine's commitment to Ottawa and the territorial government to hire mostly aboriginal people—Dene, Inuit and Metis—and other northerners. Until a deal had been negotiated, the federal government refused to approve the Ekati mine, jointly owned by The Broken Hill Proprietary Co. Ltd. (BHP) of Australia, DeBeers

Pike, who first discovered diamonds in the Northwest Territories, his partner Stu Blaisland, and the company Pike started, Dea Met Minerals Ltd. of Kelowna, B.C. At first, native groups opposed the mine, but money talks. BHP courted the Dene, even taking some of them on a visit to a mine in New Mexico, and promised millions for cultural and social projects. "BHP came here and thought they could find the way they've done everywhere else in the world," says Ted Hunkin, a hard-chairs negotiator for the Dene's Dene and a cousin of Liberal cabinet minister Ethel Blondin-Andrew. The agreement the mining company was forced to sign, he adds, "ended the whole idea of mining companies can just come in here and obey mining regulations without dealing with the people who are affected."

When the Ekati mine comes onstream, it is expected to produce four million carats of diamonds a year. In the late fall, construction crews were still at the site. Five of the 8,000 blasting holes in the Lac de Gras granite are being taken to allow access to the diamonds underneath. BHP built a diversion channel between two of the lakes so fish could move through. When the diamonds are gone and the mining stops, some time in the 21st century, the company will be required to do what it can to restore the area to its previous condition.

CARATS BY THE KILO

- Total world production of diamonds in 1996 was 110 million carats, worth \$8.7 billion.
- Only 15 per cent of these diamonds were gem quality.
- There are 5,000 carats in one kilogram of diamonds, which could easily fit inside a one-litre milk carton.
- A kilogram of diamonds from the new Ekati mine will have an average value of \$750,000, almost 10 times the value of the equivalent weight in gold.
- Ekati is expected to produce at least two kilograms of diamonds a day for 17 years.



Environmentalists still fear the mine's impact on the migratory habits of the caribou and the grizzly bears which hibernate in glacial mounds called eskers. Under pressure from the federal government, BHP had to fund an independent environmental monitoring agency. Last June, the department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development issued a "deficiency" report critical of BHP and called on the company to devise a more detailed plan to deal with the mine's environmental impact. In September, staff from the department of Fisheries and Oceans arrived at the site to investigate the appearance of sediment in the diversion channel. "We're not sure what they were looking for, but they found fish," says Deane Bergholm, BHP's senior public affairs officer.

Not that it is easy to fish at the mine in a remote area where winter lasts eight months. In the summer, all supplies must be airlifted as, including fuel. In the winter, trucks can use an ice road from Yellowknife that passes near Ekati on route to a gold mine further north. BHP and Dea Met will spend about \$700 million to build Ekati, including airstrips and roads, housing facilities to rid the diamonds from the crushed rock, and a corridor allowing workers to

impossible to go for an outside stroll. The location of living such a circumscribed life is noted in an acronym, hand written poem pinned to a bulletin board in the main recreation hall:

*In the dark arctic tundra,
swamp forest to my head
six weeks from the next flight I'll still
take me back home to my bed.
Work like slaves on the job site
10 to 12 hours a day
Wouldn't choose to live out here
if it wasn't for the good pay.*

Blowing and digging out the hard granite rock in sub-zero temperatures requires modern and a sense of humor. Eric Alquist, one of the BHP foremen, says "In the summer, you wish it were cold because the bugs are all eating you. In the winter, you wish it were summer 'cause you're freezing." Alquist is speaking, a young caribou antler stuck down the road past his gear. Caterpillar loader. Most of the caribou have already migrated, but for some reason this one is lingering. "Dinner for the wolves," Alquist smiles.

Humans too, have been circling the camp ever since Pike and his BHP partners told the world they had found diamonds. It was Pike's discovery that brought Eric Thomas and his brother, Geraldine, to Lac de Gras in the early 1990s and led them to their own diamond find. The Thomases' public company, Alter Resources Ltd., is working with British mining giant Rio Tinto PLC to open a diamond mine by 2005.

Prospectors Walt Humphrey (left), Syre and Wier, the discovery of a striking rock in the Northwest Territories

move from camp to workplace without strapping outside. Construction workers have removed nine million tonnes of rock so far to create the open pits for mining.

By late October, 700 other men and women had joined Rubeis at the isolated camp. Housed in what seems like an institutional resort, with a squash court, a gym and two TV rooms, the construction workers—who earn an average of \$20 an hour—are on the job 20 or more hours a day for three weeks straight, then fly to Yellowknife for a week of rest. The other employees, including electricians, geologists, ranchers, engineers and environmental experts, work for two weeks straight, then get two weeks off.

In spite of the diversions and the plentiful food—the workers devour 1,800 sandwiches and 360 litres of milk a day—it is a hard life. Alcohol is banned. Parties are verboten. Smoking in the bedrooms is taboo because of the fire hazard—the masks who make up the beds are under orders to report even a whiff of smoke—and reported snoring can mean a pink slip. In the dark, seemingly endless night of winter, when fly winds whip across the tundra, it's

The same week Rubeis started work, Eric Thomas, 38, was travelling up to Lac de Gras to visit her company's site, 30 km south-east of the Ekati mine. Her story is unique, but because she is a young woman in a business filled with cowboys and colliers and because her first success is to own rather than dig.

Thomas's morning flight on a 13-year-old Twin Otter took her as a rock as well as travel. But the map on the staff office wall at the Lac de Gras area is crisscrossed with footprints. Prepared for the harsh cold, Thomas boarded the plane wearing a heavy, fur-trimmed grey parka and taid diamonds and earrings. The jewelry was a gift from her father, but Thomas carried these diamonds the hard way. After graduating with a geology degree from the University of Toronto in 1990, she went backpacking in Africa when she was unable to find steady employment. She was in Johannesburg when her father, a mining engineer, called to say he was looking for diamonds in the Northwest Territories. "I said, 'What? Diamonds in the Canadian North?'" Until the winter of 1991, he had found beryllium and other metals, but never diamonds.

Thomas returned to Vancouver and over the next two years found regularly to Lac de Gras, eventually taking over Alter's exploration team. The search for diamonds led her to a tiny island in Lac de



At 29, mining executive Thomas has become a multimillionaire



Delivering supplies near Lac du Grand Ruisseau (left), an explorer wily about the mine's impact on caribou and grizzly bears

reminiscent. But the company has faced environmental consultants and, pending government approval, drill hole could start coughing up diamonds in 1991.

It is the fall of 1990 and by 11:30 a.m., Thomas's Air Tach plane had arrived at the tiny Aber camp. She skipped over the granite rocks of the tundra and picked up a hunk of greyish green stone. "This is kimberlite," she said. "Now it's frozen, but what if there is still carbon in it?" Kimberlite is volcanic rock that carries diamonds from deep within the Earth to the surface. The gems themselves are not found along volcanic eruptions but are carried up in kimberlite, which can be up to a kilometer in length and 200 m wide—to the Earth's crust, much like a speeding subway train carries passengers. When the glaciers retreated across the tundra for the last Ice Age 10,000 years ago, they scooped away the top of the soft kimberlite and left behind water. As a result, pieces of kimberlite containing indicator minerals—mineral-colored garnet, garnet, enstatite-chromite diorite, chromite-chromite diorite and chromite—were scattered over the surface of the Earth. Because the kimberlites are often covered by water, they are difficult to find. The behemoth of diamonds among companies, South Africa's De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd., has been looking for diamonds in Canada for 30 years, but until recently had found nothing north of mining.

Back at Yellowknife, Thomas recommends a visit to Nellie's dance, where the local prospectors hang out. The chatterbox invited in the heat for diamonds still leads the conversations of a few men who meet at Nellie's for coffee every day. Mike Byrne is sitting under the "No smoking" sign at the back of the dance, puffing on Export 10. Byrne is the president of the prospectors, thick-limbed, wearing a checked shirt and baseball cap that says "The great diamond rush of '92 N.W.T." Byrne, War as a young boy, and both are recounting the staking hysteria that followed Plak's death. "When the news broke, within five days I was stacking land for De Beers," Byrne recalls. Exploration companies chartered every helicopter in Yellow-

knife and more were flown in from as far away as Ontario. Prospectors brought up every car on a dirt road just out of town. The demand for wooden shingles was so great that Plak's Building Supply had to start an overnight shift to cut them. Byrne and his rivals would fly in by chopper to the area around Plak's find and drop the wooden stakes onto the tundra, claiming the land. A co-worker would then jump out and hammer in the stakes. "Hanging out the side of a helicopter in 40-degree-below weather and flying 100 miles per hour, 25 feet off the ground, was scary and dangerous work," Byrne says.

Sometimes, the prospectors found they had trinked the same piece of property. When that happened to War, he invited his competitor over to his house, placed a bottle of overproof rum on the kitchen table and began the negotiations. Men were firing up at 1 a.m., outside the federal government building in Yellowknife to get permits to stake. By the end of 1990, 188,000 square kilometers—about one per cent of the total area of the Northwest Territories—had been staked for 150 companies. War made enough money from prospecting and buying shares in the new diamond companies to purchase a summer house in British Columbia's Okanagan Valley and a 500,000-litre car diamond for his wife.

The money involved in the diamond play has caused the mayor of Yellowknife, Dave Lovell, to agitate for a change of valuation and zoning bylaw in his town of 18,000. The community badly needs the job. The gold mines in the area are struggling, some are closing. The planned diamond of the Northwest Territories in 1988 into two municipalities will ease the disappearance of jobs. Lovell's plan for a diamond-oring facility is backed by the territorial government, which wants BHP to reconsider its plan to have the

diamonds staked in Athabasca. "There's no one doesn't want his diamonds staked in Athabasca," says N.W.T. Premier James Earl Tait. "We have. Minefields doesn't want his diamonds in Athabasca. Why should we?" In early December, the federal government agreed to appoint a committee to study the issue.

There is also the matter of royalties. The federal government controls the mineral resources of the Northwest Territories and will garner most of the tax revenue and royalties an estimated \$2.4 billion over 17 years from the Elton mine alone. The Northwest Territories will receive only \$200 million during the same period. "We are still a colony of Ottawa," berates Stephen Kaiduk, the minister of resources, wildlife and economic development. "People 3,000 miles away are deciding what will go on or not on land, how it will be used, how it will be taxed. That's not colonial as you can get." (The federal government, on the other hand, made transfer payments of \$604-million to the territorial government last year.)

Diamond ore royalties made, the diamond rush, in many minds, the most exciting thing to happen in the Northwest Territories. The potential profits are huge, but some other environmental and aboriginal agreements at stake. And people's lives have been changed. The De Beers mine is dismantling their business and are now financing up other initiatives, such as forming construction companies and raising services. Jim Thomas, at 29, has become a multimillionaire and made a significant contribution to Canadian mining history. Charles Ruffin has made his first real trip out from home and earned his first weekly paycheck. The diamond mine in the Northwest Territories may end up on the list of things of new legends, but the adventure of seeking them has made the Barren Lands a realm of beauty and mythic fascination. □

BUSINESS

Grass, where she found herself following a mineral trail of garnets, chromite, diorite and chrome leading right into the lake.

By early 1990, Thomas and another Aber geologist, Robb Hopkins, had found some diamonds under the lake, but nothing really worthwhile. The two geologists and their drill crew were fast running out of time, money and patience. The ice over the lake was beginning to break up, and the expenses were mounting. It was time to make a decision: leave or risk one last try. They took the risk. "Robin and I were taking turns checking the drill," Thomas recalls. "One morning, it was his turn and I was sitting in the kitchen under having a cup of tea. He came into the kitchen and threw some rocks on the table. He was beaming."

There sat a fabulous array of diamonds. Four to five carats per tonne alone, one of the richest diamond finds anywhere in the world. A two-cent irregular diamond was lodged right in the drill core. Thomas slept with that diamond under his pillow for two nights, then flew to Vancouver and presented it to his father. "He couldn't stop laughing. We were like a group of kids, very giddy. We knew we'd struck it big time."

Now, three years later, Thomas's find is on the verge of becoming a mine. Part of her company's plan calls for water in the lake to be held back by a dike so Derek Davidson Mines Inc., a subsidiary of Rio Tinto, can scoop out the diamond-laden rock. This concerns aboriginal people who fish for trout in Lac du Gras, as well as can-

now kimberlite pipes—which can be up to a kilometer in length and 200 m wide—to the Earth's crust, much like a speeding subway train carries passengers. When the glaciers retreated across the tundra for the last Ice Age 10,000 years ago, they scooped away the top of the soft kimberlite and left behind water. As a result, pieces of kimberlite containing indicator minerals—mineral-colored garnet, garnet, enstatite-chromite diorite, chromite-chromite diorite and chromite—were scattered over the surface of the Earth. Because the kimberlites are often covered by water, they are difficult to find. The behemoth of diamonds among companies, South Africa's De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd., has been looking for diamonds in Canada for 30 years, but until recently had found nothing north of mining.

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TO CATCH A DIAMOND THIEF

When Sir Alan Goss, the Johannes burg based head of security for De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd., visited Yellowknife last year, he had a few words to caution for the Canadian diamond industry. "Nobody," he estimated, "is more ingenious than a diamond thief." It is a message the RCMP in Yellowknife are paying great heed to. Two plainclothes officers, Ray Haines and Susan Munro, are being trained to work full time on preventing crime that could arise from diamond mining in the Northwest Territories. It is the first time the force has ever taken such precautions—against mining, for example, never held full RCMP attention, despite concerns about smuggling.

In other diamond-producing countries, such as Angola and Zaire, smuggling and crime are rife. Even in South Africa, where security measures are stringent, there is constant theft. De Beers reported last month that theft and diamond trafficking in South Africa costs the country \$300 million a year. In 1996, police investigated 676 cases of diamond trafficking and recovered 6,666 carats' worth of diamonds.



RCMP offices in Yellowknife are the perfect place to catch a diamond thief

In one of the cases, De Beers says, a smuggler was caught with three diamonds packed carefully into condoms concealed in his rectum.

Anywhere there are diamonds, there are criminals, the RCMP officers say. "Organized crime is very attracted to this industry," says Haines. "It is somehow been able to infiltrate the system even when there is tight security in place. Diamonds are very easy to conceal." By air, by truck, by mail, as much as 40 per cent of the rough diamonds currently for sale around the world come from the black market. So Haines and Haines have visited London, South Africa, Belgium and Australia to

gather information about security procedures at diamond mining sites. Haines has conducted a five-month drive course as diamonds so he can learn about the stones themselves. And Munro is explaining how diamond mines recruit personnel—whether, for example, new employees should undergo psychological tests to measure their integrity. The officers won't be responsible for security at the mine—that task will fall to a mining company—but they will dig by themselves to be sure to check on the security. As Munro notes, "There is a dark side to this industry."

JENNIFER HUNTER in Yellowknife



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Business NOTES

HIGHER PHONE RATES

Local phone rates in every province except New Brunswick and Saskatchewan will rise on Jan. 1 by an average of \$1.31 per month, the third increase in as many years. The Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission, which approved the hike, also deregulated long-distance rates, allowing the regional phone companies to adjust prices without CRTC approval. Plans such as AT&T Canada Long Distance Services Co. said the CRTC move will allow the regional phone companies to drive competitors out of business. Cable TV firms, which plan to offer local phone service in the future, applauded the decision for allowing greater competition.

SCHNEIDER LOOKS SOUTH

Schneider Corp. spent a \$150-million offer from Toronto-based Maple Leaf Foods Inc. and agreed to a \$155-million takeover by Smith's Foods Inc. of Norfolk, Va. The Kitchen, Ontario-based company will become a wholly owned subsidiary of Smith's, the largest U.S. pork producer.

ALL IN THE FAMILY

Paul Reichman abandoned his long-standing bid to regain control of Toronto's First Canadian Place and sold his 26-per-cent stake to GAY Properties Inc., a real estate firm run by his nephew, Philip Reichman, and son-in-law, Frank Hauer. The landmark office tower, the country's tallest, was erected 16 years ago by the Reichmans' Olympia & York Developments Ltd.

MICROSOFT EMBATTLED

U.S. state officials were considering a national antitrust action against Microsoft Corp. The landmark office tower, the country's tallest, was erected 16 years ago by the Reichmans' Olympia & York Developments Ltd.

COREL SINKS DEEPER

Ottawa-based software producer Corel Corp. said it expects to lose \$50 million in its fiscal third quarter, primarily due to poor sales of its Word-Perfect office products. Investors reacted by selling off the company's stock, pushing the share price to its lowest level in seven years.

A green Christmas

Happy pay packets ensured a happy holiday season for some of Canada's top executives. Leaders of the country's largest banks saw their compensation soar as the strength of record profits and higher stock prices. Toronto Dominion Bank's chief executive, Charles Barth, collected \$3.7 million in 1997, a million more than in the previous year. Richard Thomson, who will step down as TD's chairman on Feb. 1, received just under \$2 million, compared with \$2.16 million last year. But the value of his unrestricted stock options almost tripled to \$40.3 million, as top of an annual premium of up to \$800,000. TD's rivals will reveal in the coming weeks how much they gave their five highest paid executives. "You won't find those [amounts] out of line when the others are reported," said Barth.

Using share prices also helped executives of some smaller companies. James Bullock, CEO of Laidlaw Inc., the Burlington, Ont.-based transportation firm, collected \$4.6 million this



TD's Thomson: an annual packet of \$600,000

year, of which \$2 million came from stock options. Ivan Focan, president and CEO of Baton Broadcasting Inc., which recently gained control of the CTV network, received \$823,202, while the value of his unrestricted options increased by \$5 million to \$8.5 million. Focan has not paid his share to become dividend since 1990.

Loan costs take a leap

Banks raised mortgage rates for the third time in less than a month, increasing the 5-year fixed rate from 9.5 per cent to 10.5 per cent. Rates on loans below five years rose by almost a percentage point. Both the four- and five-year rates now stand at 7.05 per cent. The banks blamed the increase on the Canadian dollar's persistent weakness. Asia's economic

troubles depressed local prices and increased the bank's lending costs. Economists said the rise in rates will do little to dampen consumer confidence because loan costs are still low. Housing sales, however, would start to slow if rates reached eight per cent, some analysts said. There are already signs the housing market may be cooling. Sales of existing homes in November sank 14.4 per cent, the largest monthly drop since March. Victoria, Vancouver and Regina saw the largest declines.

FINANCIAL OUTLOOK

Canada's annual inflation rate was 0.9 per cent in November, its lowest level since January, 1995, and significantly lower than October's 1.3-per-cent rate.

Interpreting inflation's decline as a sign the economy could be slowing down, the Bank of Canada maintained its target interest rate, even though the dollar slid to its lowest level in 12 years.

The drop below 70 cents (U.S.) fueled speculation that the central bank will again be forced to raise the benchmark lending rate following a well-predicted hike on Dec. 12.

"Foreign exchange rates are rarely bullish

for growth, and this one is unlikely to be an exception," —CIBC World Money

"The Canadian economy is set to deteriorate out of sight—no less, partly due to a further deterioration in net exports." —Scotiabank

"Back in the early '90s, when Canada was the champion of the deficit games, we were told if we cleaned up our act the dollar would go to par. The problem is, par turned out to be against the New Zealand dollar." —Scotiabank



The gold buried in some funds

Gold and gold-mining companies have been among the biggest losers on the markets this year, so it stands to reason that many people would want to steer clear of mutual funds that invest in those areas. But how does an investor know which funds hold a significant amount of gold? Funds that invest primarily in gold and precious metals can usually be identified by their names—the Royal Princess Metals Fund, for example—but there are dozens of additional funds whose names do not reflect their gold holdings.

Consider, for example, the Canbridge Growth Fund offered by Vancouver-based Smart Investment Management Ltd., which had 18.8 per cent of its assets invested in gold and silver as of Sept. 30, the most recent date for which figures are available. Or Alberta's Growth & Income Fund, 32.9 per cent of which was tied up in gold and precious metals at that time.

According to BNCCharts Inc., a Toronto-based fund rating service, a total of 79 Cana-

dian mutual funds held gold and precious metals as one of their top five assets as of Sept. 30. Of those, 35 do not include the words gold or precious metals in their names. The actual share of assets in gold and precious metals varied from a low of 3.1 per cent to a high of 33.3 per cent in the case of First Continental Fund Management Inc.'s First Heritage Fund. What's in a fund name? Not much, apparently.



How about speculation.com?

Anyone searching for an unusual investment opportunity might want to consider the rising name in World Wide Web site names. Officially called domain names, Web addresses show Internet users in find a specific site by typing in a simple word or phrase, such as speculation.com. Individuals who want to register a name can do so by contacting InterNIC Registration Services of Herndon, Va., the organization that oversees domain names. This fee is currently \$300 (\$15) for the first two years and \$50 annually after that.

Once a domain name is registered, the owner has exclusive rights to it for as long as he or she wishes. Hence the competition for easy-to-remember addresses—on far more than 1.5 million domains have been registered, with the number increas-

ing by 125,000 a month. What's more, some companies are willing to pay handsomely for the right to acquire a given domain name from the person who registered it. "A good domain name is the deed to a very important piece of cyber real estate," says Toronto-based Web developer Adam Corbitt.

Over the past two years, Corbitt has registered more than 400 domain names, ranging from cheek.com to stockdirect.com. His goal was to launch his own financial services site, but so far he has been making more money selling some of those addresses to the highest bidder, at prices ranging from \$3,700 (for supernation.com) to \$17,500 (for webdude.com). In the United States, where speculation in domain names is rife, prices for high profile addresses are rising rapidly. In June, a Texas company paid \$233,000 for the right to be browsers.com, establishing a new record. Who says it is impossible to make money on the Internet?

Money Talks

Southern migration

Although the United States is still the most popular winter destination for retired Canadians "snow birds," increasing numbers of them are choosing to spend part of the year in Mexico or Costa Rica. The Canadian Investment Guide by Douglas Galy (McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., \$21.95) offers tips for all breeds of snowbirds on the financial, health and legal implications of choosing to spend part of the year outside of Canada.

Asian contagion

The total amount of money held in Canadian mutual funds fell 2.3 per cent in November, to \$275 billion, because of the impact of the Asian financial crisis on stock prices. Despite that, investors poured \$4.3 billion of new money into funds of all types, the Investment Funds Institute of Canada says in its latest monthly report. The latest figures show a trend towards more conservative balanced funds, a sign that investors are growing nervous because of recent stock market volatility.

Canadian mutual fund assets, in billions



Cheaper mortgages

Canadian homeowners saved more than \$1.4 billion in 1996 and 1997 as a result of declining mortgage interest rates, research by Canada Mortgage and Housing Corp. shows. If interest rates remain close to their current levels, borrowers who are scheduled to roll over their housing loans next year will save an additional \$500 million, the federal agency says.

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FORECAST: **EMPLOYMENT** The pace of job creation will likely slacken over the next 12 months because of rising interest rates and falling commodity prices, says economist Jeff Ruben of CIBC Wood Gundy Securities. He expects the Bank of Canada to raise rates by three-quarters of a percentage point in the first half of the year, cutting into domestic spending. His forecast of 220,000 new jobs is 120,000 fewer than in 1997 and barely enough to make a dent in the nine-per-cent unemployment rate.



Peter C. Newman

Something rotten in the state of Asia

Watching the Asian debt crisis firsthand, as I did last week during a brief sojourn to the territory, I found that while each country's problems are different, they share a common cause: their political and business establishments have grown corrupt and must be overthrown. Revolution is in the air. The Pacific Century, hailed only weeks ago by Jean Chrétien at the APEC summit in Vancouver, has turned to mud, as country leaders plead for more funds from the IMF, while leaders of the many endangered conglomerates, on the cusp of bankruptcy, are desperately seeking more time and credit from their banks. Although this has been the world's fastest-developing area, its share of the global GDP having grown from 17 per cent to 25 per cent in the past decade, there is little doubt that at least South Korea, Thailand and Indonesia will soon be forced to declare a debt moratorium, as several Latin American countries did in 1982.

The crisis, worsening by the day in that doomed trio, flows directly out of the corruption that pervades these and other nearby economies. Patronage inevitably trumps patriotism. Heads of government use their national treasuries as personal kettles, with scarce resources allocated to relatives and relatives. Indonesian President Suharto's daughter Tuti owns a series of toll roads commanding access to the country's main air terminals. Well-connected families run huge state-supported enterprises with little regard for efficiency or profit. That has created over a decade-long backlog of more than \$300 billion, with little chance of payback. The toughest job facing the IMF is to drastically alter the host's fiscal culture. The monopolies must be broken up, corruption eliminated.

Least touched by the meltdown have been Hong Kong, Singapore and Taipei. While they are far from enlightened democracies, these islands of fiscal sanity have moved far beyond their neighbors run as personal money machines for their rulers. What happens now, not just to the stocker local economies, but to the world at large, including Canada, will depend on the short- and long-term stability of Japan and China. "The problems here are very structural and very deep," I was told by Gary Coon, a Vancouver investment dealer who now heads one of Hong Kong's largest financial institutions, Credit Lyonnais Securities (Asia). "It's not an homogeneous Asian fix, it's 20 or 15 different entities. The debt, China has been relatively immune to the really deep problems that have turned the situation in South Korea and Thailand into complete disasters."

The hottest stock market in Bangkok practices "farmer rich" as its chest. One day \$5 a share. As a result of this year's IMF bailout, 58 of the country's 170 finance companies have been shuttered. These and other shakedown will force two million newly unemployed

Thais out to the streets. There is no unemployment insurance. The fact last week's financial crisis hit the city has only two similarities left to its name: the largest number of inactive financial executives selling needles, and the world's richest housewives. The latter category refers to the fact that when cabinet ministers were recently forced to reveal their assets gained while in office, former premier Chavalit Yongchaiyuth declared \$688,000, while his wife Panchana, who had never held a job, was found to have accumulated \$43 million.

The South Koreans have lost half its value. Because selling treasury stock would have diluted their holdings, Korea's family dynasties have loaded their companies with bank loans that are coming due with a vengeance. When Kia Motors, the largest of the failed conglomerates now propped up by state banks, had to downsize, its owners reacted by closing the staff barbershop.

When Indonesia's dictator, the 70-year-old Suharto, dropped out of sight for a few days in early December and was presumed to have died, the country's currency dropped 11 per cent and, according to one observer, would have gone through the floor if state radio stations had started playing funeral music. The situation is that fragile. Suharto runs Asia's most corrupt regime, his wife is a crooked, and popular resentment against his family is so intense, there is bound to be violence in any takeover.

Asia's twin anchors of relative fiscal stability are China and Japan. China has been protected because its yuan is not convertible into outside currencies and its stocks, along among the Asian countries, are not subject to foreign speculation as only Chinese nationals are allowed to buy shares. Its business potential is so huge that nothing much can hurt it, though China's stunning growth rate is bound to slow and some of its banks are shaky.

Similarly, despite its troubles with falling investment income and overextended banks, Japan still holds huge foreign reserves and remains the world's second largest economy. But public confidence is fading. Two farmers in the Nagano district were awarded recently for posting a financial institution by offering investors the chance to buy cows instead of putting their money into banks. The scheme was stopped by the authorities because it was proving too popular.

As usual, Asia is full of contradictions. The place is in turmoil, but earlier this year a private house in Hong Kong sold for \$135 million. Just last week, Brooke Lee, a Hamilton beauty who is the current Miss Universe, was making big jewelry worth \$600,000 in downtown Hong Kong last when a local shopkeeper bought the works for his wife.

Perhaps the surest advice came from Mexico's Gove, a columnist for Singapore's *Business Magazine*, who surveyed the Asian meltdown and concluded: "When all hell breaks loose, shop."

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People

Edited by
BARBARA WICKENS

Bullish over Broadway

It is not every day that New Yorkers are offered a treat. So when Canadian entrepreneur **Garth Drabinsky** threw open the doors to the stunning new Ford Center for the Performing Arts one day last week, more than 6,000 people showed up during an eight-hour period. Two days earlier, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, Gov. George Pataki and performers Chita Rivera, Christopher Plummer, Vincent Williams and Marvin Hamlisch had participated in the ribbon-cutting ceremonies. Then it was the turn of the hip jobbies to tour the first new theatre to open on Broadway since the Marlin Theatre opened in 1980. For some, it was a trip down memory lane: the \$45-million Ford Center stands on the site of two historic playhouses, the 1900 Lyric and the 1900 Apollo, where such faded entertainers as W. C. Fields, the Marx Brothers and Fred Astaire



once worked behind the footlights. Drabinsky, chairman and chief executive officer of Toronto-based Event Inc., says he was pleased the open house attracted so many visitors. "Once a building is built," he says, "the architecture is for the people."

Drabinsky, 48, has built new theatres in Vancouver and Toronto, renovated another in Toronto, and is in the midst of reconstructing the Oriental Theatre in Chicago. But



Drabinsky: 43rd Street theatre 'eventful'

he says the 1,413-seat Ford Center in New York was his biggest challenge because it incorporates historic elements from its predecessors. On 43rd Street, the design retains and restores the richly sculptured exterior of the Lyric. And inside, while the backstage technology and extensive rehearsal spaces are state of the art, the new building incorporates the great elliptical dome, gossamer arch, boxes and 49th Street lobby from the Apollo. In all, the theatre seems an appropriate setting for its inaugural production, *Doctores*, based on the E. L. Doctorow novel set at the turn of the century. After receiving new reviews in Toronto and Las Vegas, the musical starts previews this week and opens Jan. 14, with \$22 million in tickets already sold. During a brief break in rehearsals, Drabinsky sounded a little tired—but clear: "I over-worked by what we have accomplished here."

Adams sings for Evangelista's cause

What is it about rock stars and supermodels? **Dyan Adams** was asked the question last week and admitted that he didn't really know. "They're just a perfect fit, I guess," he ventured. While Adams is not currently dating a supermodel himself, he is collaborating with one: **Linda Evangelista**

asked the Kingston, Ont.-born musician if he would record a new version of his song *Never No Ever Really Loved a Woman* for a breast cancer research benefit album. Adams agreed, on condition that she join him in the studio. She did, singing and playing accordion on the recording.

Now, Adams, 38, who has just released his own MTV Unplugged album, plans to do a tour. His cruise-Canada tour next year will include a Feb. 15 concert in St. Catharines, Ont., where Evangelista was born, with proceeds going to fund a treatment centre there. "We had friends who have been affected by breast cancer," explains Adams, "so I really want to do something about it."

Home, and love, on the range

As Westerns go, *Nothing Too Good for a Cowboy* rides across familiar territory. In the CBC TV movie, to be broadcast on Jan. 4, a hard-core, hard-drinking rancher (**Clad Willett**) and his laconic partner (**Tril O'Carroll**) battle bad weather, blood poisoning and the bank to operate in a period in the British Columbia wilderness of the 1940s. But in the often bloodless role of *The Western Who Comes Between Them*, Vancouver actress **Sarah Clarke**, 21, gets plenty of snowy drama. Clarke, best known for her onscreen, offscreen part as older daughter *Becky on Roseanne*, is showcased as a debutante who



trades her false eyelashes for a home on the range. "I was really wet and cold," she says of the four-week, early spring shoot outside Toronto. "In one night scene, I was wearing a little antique dress and I thought I'd get frostbite." Aside from the weather, Clarke had to contend with stampeding cattle and four relatives of a stunt in which she jumped off a collapsing horse onto a ranch hand's back. Even so, Clarke says that if *Cowboy* becomes a series next fall, she would not flinch up again as a cow. "I definitely would do it, I know it."

Willett, Clarke: wet weather and stampeding cattle

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More pay means fewer teachers

Word of a settlement in the contract dispute between 5,500 teachers and the Calgary Board of Education was barely out last week and the phone was already ringing off the hook at the Alberta Teachers' Retirement Fund office. Calling were teachers inquiring about an early retirement package for anyone aged 50 and over with at least 11 years experience. At least 400 teachers must accept the buyout by Jan. 31 to offset the settlement's 3.4-per-cent salary hike over two years. If not, the whole deal could be off and the teachers could return to the work-to-rule campaign they started in September, refusing to take part in all extra-curricular activities. The lure of early retirement—which offers a one-time buyout equal to 70 per cent of one year's salary—is not for everyone. Brad Adams, who turns 50 this month and has taught for 27 years, says he needs "a few more years" before a retirement package would make sense. "It's a crying shame, but it doesn't add up for me," says Adams, principal of Harold Proulx/Jr. High School. And like many of his colleagues, he is not thrilled with a settlement that retains salary scales up where they were three years ago. "When you factor in inflation, we're still behind where we were."

Still, few teachers blame the cash-strapped Calgary board, which has received approval from the provincial government to establish a five-cent of \$83.5 million to pay for the higher salaries and early retirement packages. Both the teachers and business agree the solution is increasing funding from government. As it turns out, help might be on the way. The day after teachers ratified



Principal Adams and student: a 'creative solution' that doesn't add up.

the deal, leaked government documents suggested the Ralph Klein government will announce in next spring a budget that it will pump an additional \$473 million into education over the next three years. The extra money, assuming it arrives, will come just in time for the next round of bargaining with Calgary teachers. The new two-year contract, ratified last week, is retroactive to August, 2005, and will expire in August, 1996. In other words, it's time to book the boardrooms for the next round of negotiations.

Missing the windfall

Ontario Finance Minister Ernie Eves had some good news for taxpayers in a fiscal statement released last week. The provincial treasury is flush with \$2.65 billion in unanticipated revenue due to a surging economy. But after dealing with the deficit and some unexpected expenses, Eves will be spending little of the windfall on Ontario's frantically stopped postsecondary institutions. Operating grants for colleges and universities will remain at their current levels in the coming year, with a one-per-cent increase in 1999-2000. This leaves Ontario universities with the lowest per capita operating grants in the country. Said University of Toronto president Robert Pichard: "We simply cannot do our job without adequate levels of public funding." The message was clear for students. Five per cent universities the green light to raise tuition fees by up to 20 per cent over the next two years, signalled the denigration of fees for specialized programs—and offered no immediate solutions to the student debt crisis. According to Barry McCrann, executive director of the Ontario Undergraduate Student Alliance, average annual borrowing is approaching \$7,500, meaning many students are more than \$22,000 in debt when they graduate with a three-year bachelor's degree. "We're pretty unhappy about this," said McCrann. "For a third year in a row, they've allowed tuition to go up substantially without delivering on student aid reform."

An axe over administrators

Douglas Castleden recently turned down the position of dean of commerce studies at University College of Cape Breton. The reason? Administrators wanted Castleden, currently an assistant professor of continuing education at the University of Massachusetts, to sign an outdated letter of resignation. "It was so unusual," says Castleden. "It made me think among people working together." UCCB president Jacquelyn Thayer Scott defended the policy required of the university's four deans for the past four years. Unlike higher administrators, says Scott, which have a series of vice-presidents, deans at UCCB are the next layer of management after the president and executive vice-president. "We have a flat administrative structure," says Scott. "Deans come from ranks of tenured faculty, where they have been primarily concerned with research and teaching. As they become administrators, it's a symbolic gesture. No one has ever turned it down before."

Administrators at other Atlantic universities said their institutions have not adopted a similar policy, and questioned the value of it. "I think UCCB would be better off improving the selection process and making sure they are hiring the right people rather than giving themselves the option to correct a mistake," says Michael Letourneau, dean of science at Acadia University in Wolfville, N.S. Others suggest that UCCB's policy would breed cautious administrators who would avoid risks for fear of reprisal. Scott disagrees: "This has been an atmosphere of openness. The worst, of course, is no. The policy has caused little debate, and no controversy on the campus. And the candidates have remained unimpaired."



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Addiction relief

The lucky Toronto carpenter, now 30, cannot remember exactly why he started maintaining heroin as a teenager. But he clearly recalls how the drug devastated his life. He went to jail three times for robberies he pulled to finance a \$200-a-day habit. There was also the indescribable pain he went through every time he tried—and failed—to quit. Five years ago, he started using medically prescribed methadone, an equally addictive drug that blunts the desire for heroin. Then in early November still desperately anxious to be drug-free, he underwent a controversial new treatment. Unconscious under a general anesthetic, he received two powerful drugs to speed his body's terrible cycle of withdrawal. When he awoke five hours later, his mad obsession for heroin had vanished—so often that continues six weeks later. "I'm free," he told Maclean's last week, adding that his name still has not been revealed. "I have a life in front of me now."

The radical procedure, known as rapid opiate detoxification, has been used thousands of times at clinics in some 10 cities around the world, including Istanbul, Tel Aviv and New York. In contrast to Canada on Oct. 30, when a pair of Toronto doctors, Peter Garber and Mark Greenberg, began to offer it as a methadone clinic they operate in a dusty strip mall. Experts in the addiction field are divided on its merits while boosters call it a life-saver; critics say that, at best, it is no improvement on other detox treatments and, at a cost of \$4,000, is available only to the relatively well-off.

Rapid opiate detoxification is based on the work of psychiatrist Karl Linnar of Vienna, Austria, and Colla Brewer of London. In the late 1980s, they discovered that two drugs, naloxone and nalbuphine, had a remarkable effect on the opiate receptors located in the locus coeruleus area of the brain stem. Bonding with the receptors, the drugs displace any traces of the highly addictive opiates that are found in heroin, methadone and some other drugs. In effect, naloxone and nalbuphine cleanse the body's craving by cleansing the system.

Patients undergo general anesthesia to ease the trauma of rapid withdrawal. Their bodies are then flooded with naloxone and

nalbuphine, which cut the withdrawal time from the norm of almost 40 hours to five or six. Five people, including the carpenter, have undergone the procedure at Toronto's York Street Clinical Associates, with two more scheduled for this week. Side effects, including vomiting and severe chills, can last up to a week. But as far, Garber and Greenberg report, all five say they have lost

all opiate cravings for at least six months, compared with only about 15 per cent who go through normal detoxification centres. But some critics remain unconvinced. Dr. Douglas Gourlay, a consultant working with the Toronto-based Addiction Research Foundation, calls those findings suspect because the procedure sits over the longer term remains unknown. Besides, follow-up counselling is just as important as drug therapy in keeping addicts off heroin, he says. Rapid opiate detoxification "is not a cure," says Gourlay. "It may be an elegant device, but it may not be any better than any other detox."

The price tag also troubles critics—the procedure is not covered by Ontario's health insurance. Garber, however, says the cost is

A cleansing therapy gets people off heroin



Garber (left) and Greenberg: critics wonder if it is better than other detoxification methods

their craving for heroin and methadone.

"We can finally do something about the physical problem," says Garber. "It is one of the major pieces of the puzzle in curing an addict." But he and Greenberg will only treat heroin addicts who have begun to pull their lives together by enrolling in methadone programs and finding work. There is no point treating addicts who are still on the street, Garber says, because there is too great a possibility they will simply return to their friends and begin shooting up again. "I have had parents bring their children in here," says Garber, "but I had to send them away. It won't work if you haven't started to turn your life around."

According to U.S. studies, 50 per cent of addicts taking the rapid detox cure have

not gone when compared with a non-succesful \$4,000-a-month heroin habit. Garber even suspects his detractors of putting personal concerns ahead of their patients. "Thousands of psychiatrists and social workers make a living counselling addicts," he observes. "If a technique comes along that reduces that mass of patients, it's going to be a serious economic threat."

Certainly, the heroin addicts who have gone through the procedure at Toronto finally believe in Garber and Greenberg. "They saved my life," says a 22-year-old woman who was the first patient to undergo rapid detox at the centre. For all the disagreement, fast is an impressive endorsement.

TOM FENNEL

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Films

Holiday treats from Hollywood

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON

*As the year-end deadline for Oscar nominations approaches, Hollywood unveils the so-called prestige pictures. And almost every major American director has jumped into the fray—including Steven Spielberg, Martin Scorsese, Francis Ford Coppola, Quentin Tarantino, James Cameron, Woody Allen and the late Ron Farrow. Hollywood's 12 days of Christmas also include three sequels, a Jewish-themed blockbuster, a Jack Nicholson romantic comedy, and a Kevin Costner epic about a postapocalyptic justice. Maclean's has previously reviewed Spielberg's *Amistad*, Coppola's *The Godfather* and Cameron's *Titanic*. Scorsese's *Kundun*, meanwhile, also set off in Canada with *Joe*. 35 Here is a sampling of Hollywood's gift list.*

Good Will Hunting The script begins as a short story written by a struggling actor for a creative writing class at Harvard University. Matt Damon is no longer struggling. First, he made a splash as the young lawyer in *The Talented Mr. Ripley*. Now, he stars opposite Robin Williams in *Good Will Hunting*, based on the screenplay that Damon wrote at university with actor Ben Affleck, who plays his best friend in the film. Directed by Gus Van Sant (*To Die For*), it is a dazzling piece of work.

Between writing and acting, the 27-year-old Damon displays a prodigious talent, and has the intelligence to carry off the lead role—as a young math genius named Will who works as a janitor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. A *de laquais* at first in a rough neighborhood of South Boston, he is lured for his job on an annual charge when an M.I.T. math professor named Lambeau Stiller (Williams) of *Bringing the Rain* lulls him out, instead of doing time. Will agrees to undergo counselling with a therapist (Williams).

There are shades of the *Dead Poet Society* in the father-son bond that develops between Williams and the boy. But *Good Will Hunting*

big feelings and more authentic. As an emotionally injured therapist, a pricklier version of his Oliver Sacks character in *Anawake*, Williams does his best work in years. And as a headstrong student trying to win Will's heart, British actress Minnie Driver (*Crave Private*) cuts a formal-able swath through what is essentially a grey movie, a romance among men who hang out in bars, tell jokes and exchange high fives after cracking math formulas. Meanwhile, Van Sant, directing his first conventional narrative, starts the edge of Hollywood awards season getting produced to it.

Jackie Brown Three years after electrifying audiences with *Pulp Fiction*—and wearing out his welcome as an actor in a spite of indulgent critics—Tarantino has finally delivered a new feature. Wisely, instead of trying to one-up *Pulp Fiction*'s randomness, he has produced a more modest film, one that foregoes directorial flash while staying rigorously faithful to the two sources that inspired it: the crime fiction of Elmore Leonard and the blaxploitation movies of the 1970s. Many critics hailed 1993's *Get Shorty* (starring John Travolta after his *Pulp Fiction* comeback) as the first move to do Leonard justice. In fact, *Get Shorty*'s cartoonish style, though entertaining, failed to capture the understated realism of Leonard's characters, who are always believable. But with *Jackie Brown*—based on the author's 1995 novel *Rainy Day*—Tarantino has mastered Leonard's dry wit with exacting fidelity.

Tarantino's script does, however, take some cosmetic liberties with the book. As well as changing the title, he has shifted the setting from Miami to its area that he knows more intimately, the South Bay region of Los Angeles County. And he has changed the story's white heroine into a black woman. By casting the blonde into a black woman, Tarantino is stacking the second track with vintage soul music—Tarantino has coupled his love for Leonard's laid-back style with an homage to the retro cool of '70s black pop culture. The dialogue, meanwhile, plays like unscripted jive, with the words "nigger" and "motherf---er" providing the backbone. In fact, between the music and the script, Tarantino is practically throwing the movie in blackface. "Nigger" is uttered dozens of times, which principled Spike Lee to protest, "What does he want to be made an honorary black man?"

The main character, Jackie Brown, is a flight attendant who gets caught smuggling cash and cocaine for a gambler named



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Books

Not-so-blithe Beatle

Paul McCartney tries to set the record straight

PAUL MCCARTNEY:
MANY YEARS
FROM NOW
By Barry Miles
(Random House, 654 pages, \$32)

Early on, as the first beat of Beatlemania raged across the planet in the mid-1960s, John Lennon was cast as the dark, wary, adventurous Beatle, while Paul McCartney was stereotyped as the cute, charming, happy-go-lucky one. Despite the plethora of books on the group that have appeared over the years, these images have rarely been challenged—perhaps because, with only a couple of exceptions, none of the research came directly from the Beatles themselves. After reading by and watching numerous biographies tell various versions of his life story, Sir Paul has now decided to set the record straight. Based on hundreds of hours of exclusive interviews conducted between 1980 and 1986 with longtime friend Barry Miles, *Many Years From Now* offers an authoritative, revealing portrait of the Beatle who is renowned for being tight-lipped about himself. Just how accurate is this Beoothing Beatle-Biite Beatle de-batay? "I had to be the bastard as well as the nice crook," says Paul. "I had to have a heart and loving side for me to stand here all these years."

Overall, by quoting McCartney so extensively, Miles gives the story of the former Beatle, now 55, a sense of intimacy and immediacy. After tracing McCartney's origins and the well-known rise of the Beatles from Liverpool church-basement group and Hamburg seep club regulars to the darling of the British pop scene, Miles takes the reader deep into the world of swinging London in the '60s. It was a "glittering life, a playground of first nights, downtown, red carpets and cocktail parties, Hollywood smiles, and wackier-than-wackier working-class lads from up north or the East End being raised and



The musician, he and Lennon were not polar opposites

love him. I was very happy to work with him, and I'm still a fan to this day." Overall, by quoting McCartney so extensively, Miles gives the story of the former Beatle, now 55, a sense of intimacy and immediacy. After tracing McCartney's origins and the well-known rise of the Beatles from Liverpool church-basement group and Hamburg seep club regulars to the darling of the British pop scene, Miles takes the reader deep into the world of swinging London in the '60s. It was a "glittering life, a playground of first nights, downtown, red carpets and cocktail parties, Hollywood smiles, and wackier-than-wackier working-class lads from up north or the East End being raised and

loved and bedded by the daughters of aristocrats." He shows how McCartney's relationship with actress Jane Asher just a prelude to his artistic development. Meeting his sister Lucy's fiancé, McCartney met Jane's brother Peter and such people as John Dunbar and the author himself—all of whom introduced the Beatle to the London avant-garde. With McCartney's help, Asher, Dunbar and Miles launched the Indica Book Shop and Gallery, where Lennon discovered Timothy Leary and anti-experimental artist John Ono.

McCartney was soon dabbling in second collages and other effects—experiments that helped to make *Sgt. Pepper* so revolutionary. He was also dabbling in marriage (Got he? Not how into My Life was McCartney's joyful tale to go). The Beatle, writes Miles, became part of an era of "godlike dabbling along the bipolar tradition. Mick Jagger was introduced to pot by Paul McCartney. Who was introduced to pot by Bob Dylan, who was introduced to pot by [journalist] Al Newman, who was introduced to pot by Alan Ginsberg, who was introduced to pot by some Puerto Rican sailors in a brothel in New Orleans in 1945."

The book's analysis of Beatle songs is fascinating. Who knew that the "eggman" in Lennon's *I Am the Walrus* was actually Eric Sutherland of *The Animals*, so named because of his proclivity for breaking raw eggs over baked grouse during war? And Miles discovered that "Ob-La-Di Ob-La-Do" means "the place on" in the Yoruba language. McCartney learned the phrase from a Nigerian songs player.

Any authorized biography is bound to be flattering. Several times, Miles quotes McCartney about how far he has been in consulting individuals for contributions, however minor, to his story. Meanwhile, for all the insight it offers into the Beatles as a creative entity, the book offers little that is new about the premise Paul McCartney's 28-year marriage to Linda is one of the longest-running in show business, but Miles sheds scant light on their relationship.

Humor and honesty save the book from becoming one big McCartney love letter. Reflecting on the Beatles' 20th-anniversary album, McCartney recalls asking the guru if he could invite himself. "We said it was a round thing," he explains. "Oh, you got any other round characters then, Sam? Can you do the Beatles rope trick?" There was a slight aspect of that, we were just Liverpool boys. It's like it, this was not the internationalist Afro-Asian study texts. *Many Years From Now* gives the most well-rounded portrait of Sir Paul to date. Showing him to have been down as an innovator, a group leader and a taskmaster, it makes clear that McCartney can take it back as much credit as Lennon for making the Four utterly Fab.

NICHOLAS JENNINGS

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